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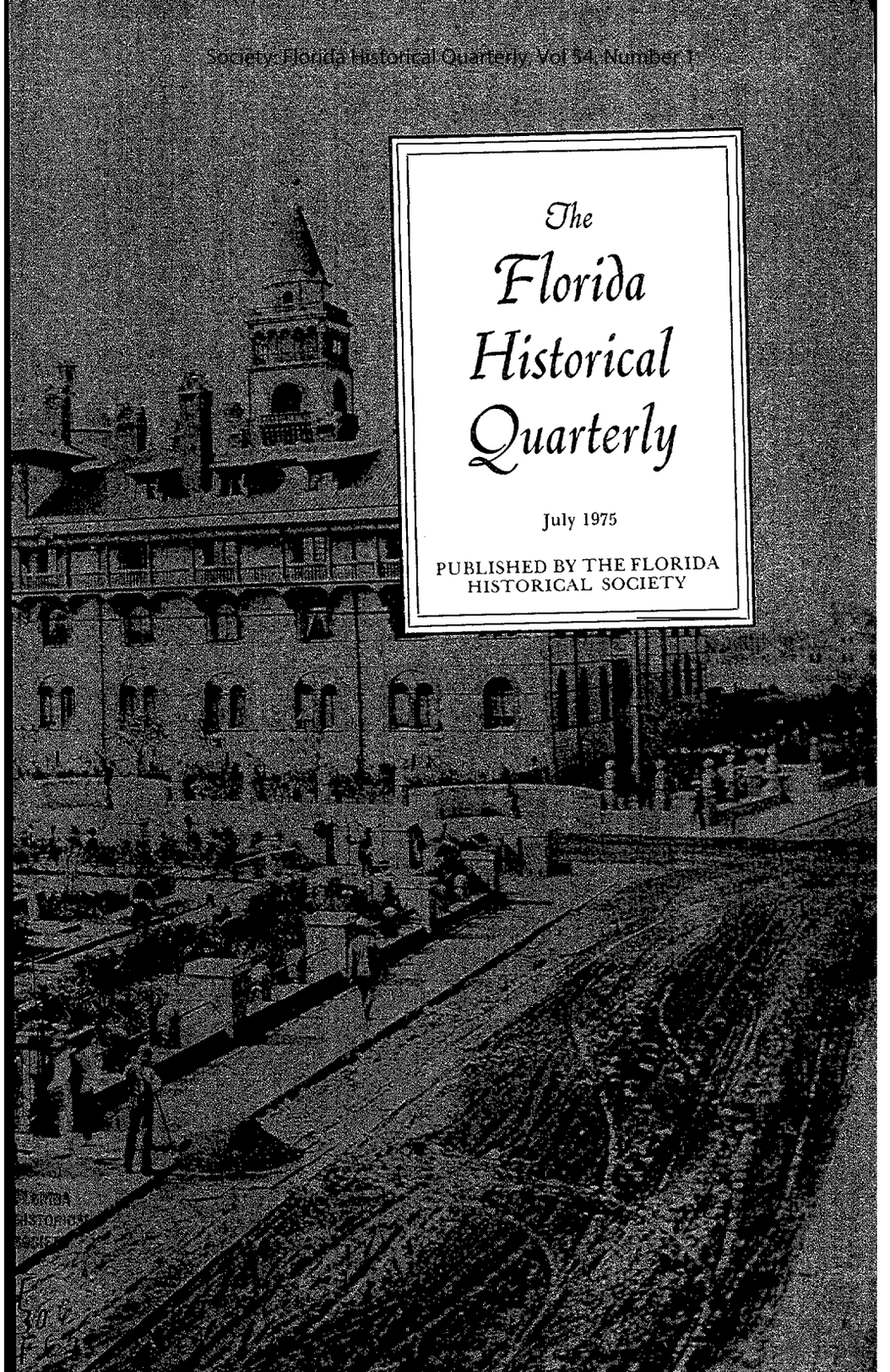

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COVER

The Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, shortly after its formal opening in January 1888. Workmen are laying out the gardens and walks for the Alcazar Hotel, then under construction. From a photograph in the possession of Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College, St. Augustine.

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BOOK REVIEWS

FLAGLER'S MAGNIFICENT HOTEL PONCE DE LEON

by THOMAS GRAHAM*

ST. AUGUSTINE is unusual among most American cities in that it possesses a distinct local atmosphere and character. Largely this charm stems from its Spanish heritage– the narrow streets overarched with balconies, its moss-covered coquina rock walls, and its ancient historic monuments such as the Castillo de San Marcos. But many of the buildings and homes of the city reflect the spirit of a more recent age, that of Victorian America before the turn of the century, when St. Augustine was the winter home of affluent Northerners. The most prominent Victorian buildings are three magnificent structures surrounding a central plaza which reproduce the architectural spirit of old Europe. These were once the Cordova Hotel, the Alcazar Hotel, and, pre-eminent among the three, the Hotel Ponce de Leon. Together they give St. Augustine a central focus different from any other city, and they represent solid proof that preserving the past is not incompatible with modern urban life.

The origins of the Hotel Ponce de Leon date back to the winter of 1885 when Standard Oil millionaire Henry Flagler brought his second wife Alice Shourds Flagler to St. Augustine for the winter. The city had been a resort for invalids even before the Civil War, but the elite of northern society began discovering its attractions toward the end of the nineteenth century and made it their winter home. The Flaglers took rooms in the new San Marco Hotel, a six-story wooden structure dominating the view just outside the old city gate at the north end of town. The San Marco had been erected in 1884 by the firm of McGuire and McDonald, under the guidance of Osburn D. Seavey, a career hotel man who became manager of the luxury hotel when it opened.

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* Mr. Graham is assistant professor of history, Flagler College, St. Augustine, Florida. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Florida Historical Society annual meeting, Gainesville, May 9, 1975.

After long consultation with Seavey and James A. McGuire, an unschooled man with a genius for construction, Flagler decided to build a hotel of his own. Two others who became involved in the enterprise were Dr. Andrew Anderson, an influential year-round resident of St. Augustine who lived on an estate just west of town, and Franklin W. Smith, a Bostonian with the means to dabble in philanthropy, politics, and amateur architecture.[1]

Flagler would later say that originating the design for the Hotel Ponce de Leon was the most perplexing task he ever faced in his Florida enterprises. He explained the dilemma to the French writer Edwin Lefevre: "Here was St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States. How to build a hotel to meet the requirements of nineteenth-century America and have it in keeping with the character of the place-that was my hardest problem."[2] The suggestion of a solution to that problem already existed in St. Augustine in the form of Smith's home, the Villa Zorayda.

The residence was an exotic amalgam borrowing from the motifs of Spain's Moorish castles but utilizing cast-in-place concrete. It was one of the first buildings in the United States to employ this technique of construction. Smith had hit upon the idea of experimenting with concrete construction while studying classical architecture and recent building innovations in Europe. He knew that the Romans had used concrete in walls, aquaducts, and even the domes of buildings. However, this art had been lost during the Middle Ages, only to be revived subsequently in the humble form of mud fences and peasant cottage walls. The Spanish had used *tapia,* a mixture of lime, sand, and oyster shell, in making house walls during the seventeenth century, and some may even have survived in St. Augustine in Smith's time.[3] With the discovery of Portland cement in the nineteenth century it

1. Louise Decatur Castleden, comp. and ed., *The Early Years of the Ponce De Leon: Clippings from an Old Scrap Book of those days* (n.p., 1957 [?]), 30; Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, 1949), 103-07; St. Augustine *Tatler;* February 17, 1894; interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974. Mr. McAloon was employed at the Ponce de Leon from 1904 to 1960.
2. Edwin Lefevre, "Flagler and Florida," *Everybody's Magazine,* XXII (February 1910), 182.
3. Surviving examples of *tabia* or "tabby" walls can be seen today at Kingsley Plantation State Park, east of Jacksonville.

became possible to produce much stronger mixes of concrete, and the way was opened to use it in more substantial buildings.

While in Europe in 1882 Smith observed how concrete was used in the building of a chateau on Lake Geneva. Returning to Boston he tested concrete mixes and then started on his home in St. Augustine. The walls were made by setting-up a wooden trough ten inches deep into which a concrete mix was poured. Iron rods and railroad track iron were dropped into the concrete to reinforce the structure. Every second day, after the concrete had dried, the wooden forms were removed, reassembled at a higher level, and another layer of cement poured on top of the first until the walls reached the desired height. The result was a building constructed at minimal cost, that was yet strong and relatively fireproof.[4]

Smith's success with the Villa Zorayda convinced Flagler that he could employ poured concrete and a Spanish architectural theme in creating a large hotel. Seavey was induced to resign his position with the San Marco to assist in the planning. For architects, Flagler went to McKim, Meade and White of New York, the leading firm in the nation, and hired two young men with no major achievements yet to their credit: John M. Carrère and Thomas Hastings. Both had studied at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts,* Paris, and were specialists in the style of the French Renaissance. Perhaps Flagler selected this inexperienced pair because of his long friendship with Hastings's father.[5]

The property selected for Flagler's project lay just outside the old Spanish defense perimeter, athwart the tidal marshes of Maria Sanchez Creek and bisected by King Street, which ran west past the Villa Zorayda and Anderson's estate. The two buildings of note on the property were a skating rink on stilts in the creek south of King Street and the modest Sunnyside Hotel on the

4. Franklin W. Smith, *Design and Prospectus for a National Gallery of History and Art at Washington* (Washington, 1891), 20-46; Carl W. Condit, *American Building Art: the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1960), 223-26. It has been alleged that the noted architect Stanford White designed the Villa Zorayda, but the evidence indicates that he did not. See Lawrence Grant White to N. L. Duryea, April 4, 1949, photostat, Zorayda Castle file, St. Augustine Historical Society.

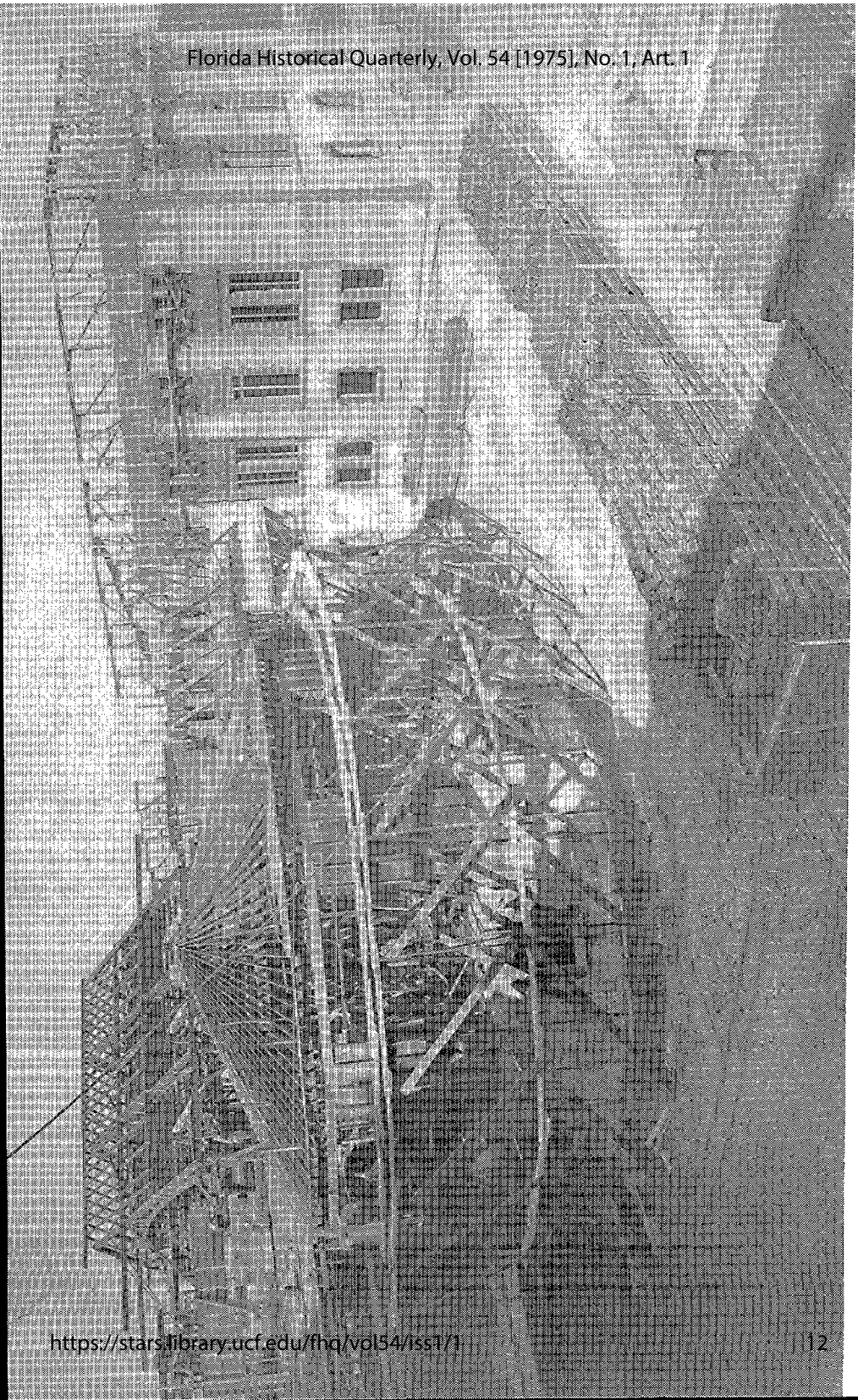
5. Harry Harkness Flagler to Duryea, April 27, 1949, photostat, Zorayda Castle file, St. Augustine Historical Society; "The Work of Messrs. Carrère and Hastings," *Architectural Record,* XXVII (January 1910), 1.

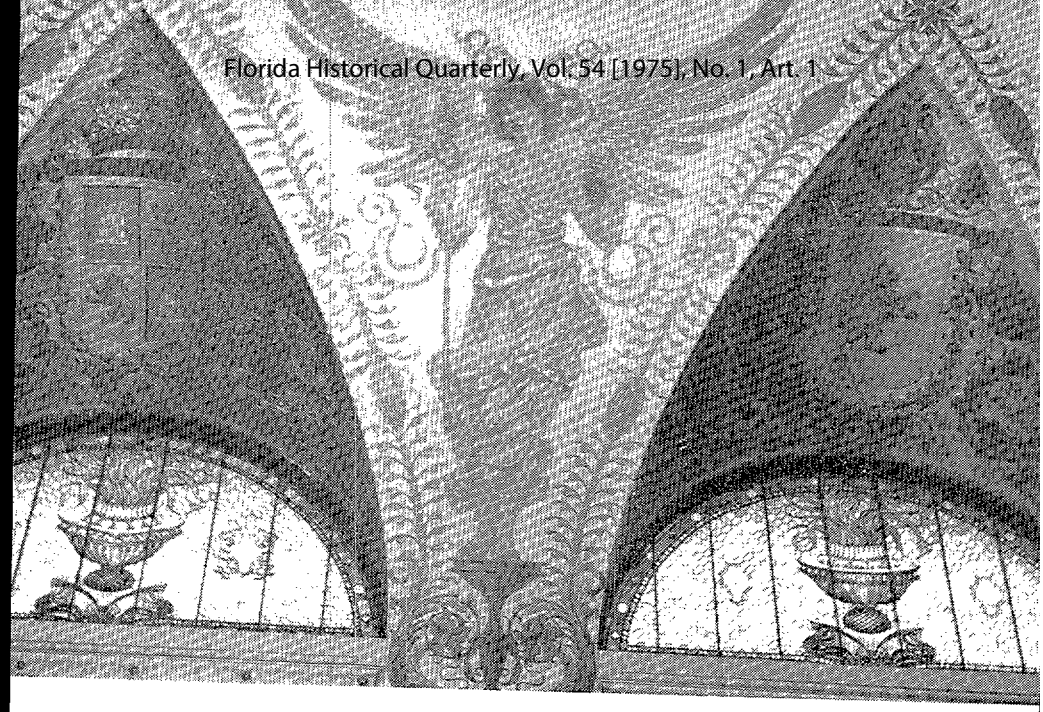
north.[6] In the summer of 1885 the site for the hotel was prepared by dumping tons of sand into the marshes and driving in hundreds of pine pilings. The foundations were poured of an especially strong concrete mixture employing one part sand, two parts coquina shell gravel (imported from quarries on nearby Anastasia Island), and one part cement. The walls were constructed of a mixture using five parts shell, two sand, and one cement.[7] The only iron reinforcement in the building (and other Flagler hotels in St. Augustine) was in the spans over arches, the longest being twenty-two feet. McGuire and McDonald conducted tests with reinforced slabs for use as flooring, but it was finally decided to use wood in the floors.[8] When completed in May 1887, the Ponce de Leon was the first major structure in the United States constructed of poured concrete; however, its limited and primitive use of iron reinforcement set it apart from innovative modern structures of the twentieth century.[9] Recent engineering studies have shown the building to be in perfectly sound condition.[10]

The Spanish Renaissance architecture of the Ponce de Leon was largely the work of Bernard Maybeck, designer for Carrère and Hastings and later a pioneer of modern architecture in California.[11] The hotel's decorator was Louis Tiffany of New York, who had recently reorganized his company to specialize in glass for architects and builders. The magnificance of the windows he designed for the Ponce de Leon had an important impact in stimulating demand for the creations which would make his name synonymous with excellence in glass.[12] The great rotunda and dining hall of the hotel were decorated with mural paintings by George W. Maynard, while the ceiling of the grand parlor was covered with angelic canvasses by Virgilio Tojetti, painted in

6. Harry Harkness Flagler to Duryea, April 27, 1949, St. Augustine Historical Society.
7. McGuire and McDonald to Carrère and Hastings, July 15, 1910, 1910 McGuire Letterbook, Ponce de Leon Hotel Collection, Flagler College, St. Augustine, Florida.
8. J. A. McGuire to Carrère and Hastings, June 25, 1910, 1910 McGuire Letterbook, Flagler College.
9. Condit, *American Building Art*, 228.
10. Wm. R. Kenan, Jr., *Incidents by the Way: Lifetime Recollections and Reflections*, 4th ed. (n.p., 1955), 13.
11. Condit, *American Building Art*, 228.
12. Robert Koch, *Louis C. Tiffany, Rebel in Glass* (New York, 1966), 69-70.

Henry Morrison Flagler (1830-1913).

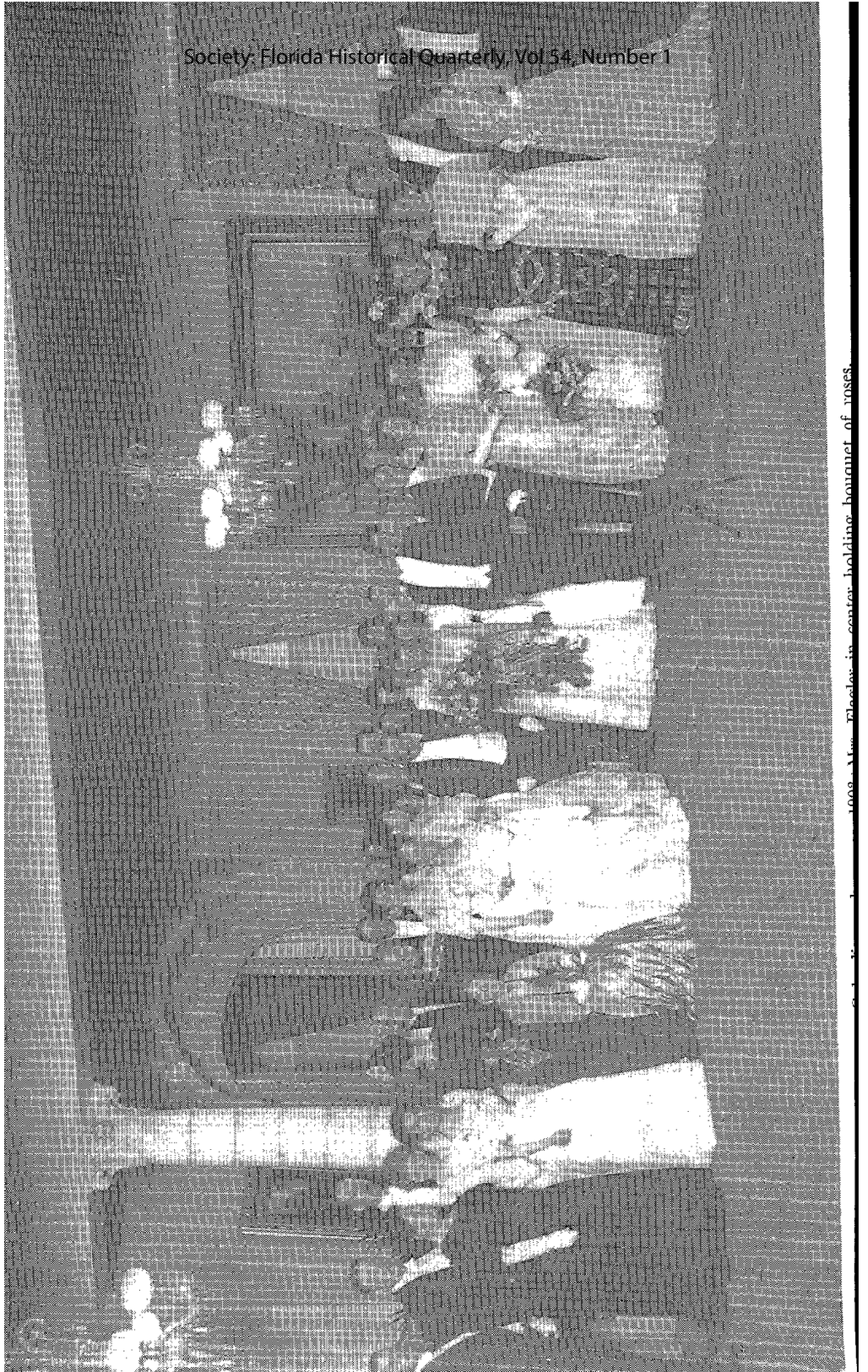


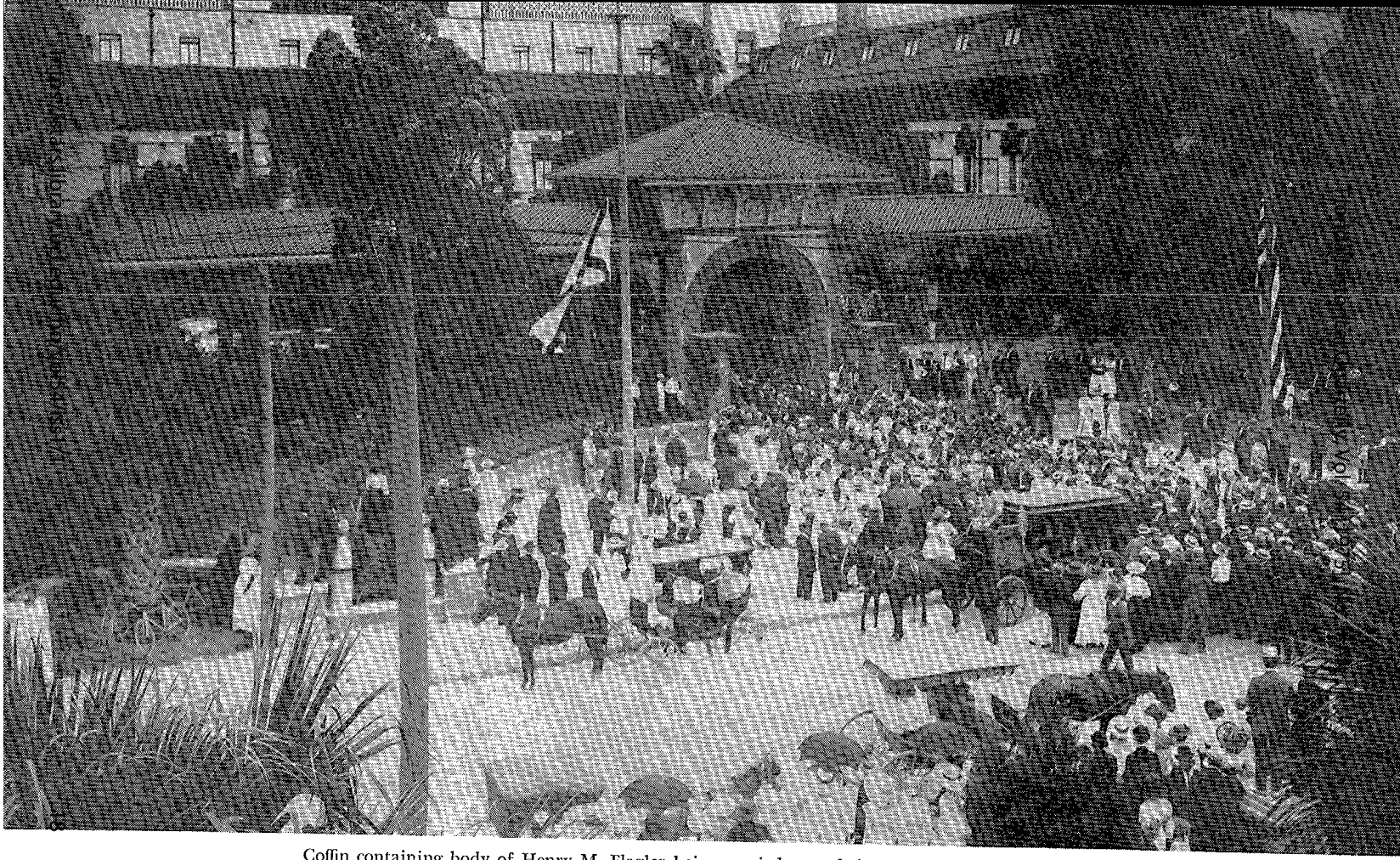


Murals by George W. Maynard and stained glass by Louis Tiffany.

The *loggia* overlooking the formal gardens.

The grand parlor consisting of three large adjoining rooms.





Coffin containing body of Henry M. Flagler being carried out of the Ponce de Leon, May 1913.

Paris and stretched between the ceiling moldings as the hotel was completed. The rich, romantic interior atmosphere was accentuated by the use of imported marbles, carved wood, framed paintings, oriental carpets, and ornate vases and furniture.[13]

Utilities for the hotel were provided by the most modern and ingenious devices. Four Edison direct current dynamos were placed in the boiler plant to generate electricity for lighting.[14] Water for the hotel was supplied from artesian wells over 500 feet deep. Since the water was impregnated with sulphur, it was necessary to pipe it through several fountains on the grounds to aerate it before pumping it into the twin towers of the hotel where four large iron tanks received it. In 1892 a pipeline to a fresh-water pond west of town was constructed so that the hotel guests would not be required to drink sulphur water– even though physicians of the day often recommended it for its supposed healthful properties.[15] In one important respect, however, the Ponce de Leon failed to anticipate a change in public demand. Since standards of the day had deemed public bathrooms sufficient, the Ponce de Leon originally had only one private bathroom– that in Flagler's suite– and almost immediately it became necessary to begin an extended program of adding private baths to the rooms of the hotel.[16]

In order to provide entertainment and places of amusement for the hotel guests, Flagler built the Casino and Alcazar Hotel immediately south of the Ponce de Leon across King Street. The Casino contained a large indoor swimming pool, therapeutic baths for treatment of various illnesses, a bowling alley, billiards room, and ballroom. There were also adjacent tennis courts.[17] The Alcazar Hotel was originally planned as a shopping arcade with moderately priced rooms in the upper floors to accommodate the overflow from the Ponce de Leon. However, the Alcazar was

13. *Florida, The American Riviera; St. Augustine, The Winter Newport* (Bowling Green, New York, 1887); St. Augustine *Tatler,* February 3, 1894; Martin, *Florida's Flagler,* 119-21.
14. McGuire to L. C. Haines, May 6, 1914, 1914 McGuire Letterbook, Flagler College.
15. A. C. Abbot, "Notes on Work done in St. Augustine at the Ponce de Leon, Alcazar and Cordova Hotels, June 2nd to June 11th, 1892," typescript report, Letterbox 8, Henry Morrison Flagler Museum, Palm Beach, Florida.
16. Interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974.
17. St. Augustine *Tatler,* February 8, 1908.

from its opening an extremely popular establishment, and soon a dining room was added and a row of shops converted into a lobby so that the Alcazar might operate as a full-fledged hotel.[18] Flagler himself later declared it to be "every bit as good as the Ponce de Leon."[19] One reason for the popularity of the Alcazar was its less stuffy atmosphere than the "high tone" Ponce de Leon, where formal dress was required at evening meals. Anna Marcotte, editor of the St. Augustine *Tatler*, noted: "The people of St. Augustine are proud of the Ponce de Leon, but they love the Alcazar."[20] Although the Alcazar was smaller than the Ponce de Leon, it would open earlier and close later in the season than its more imposing neighbor, and therefore usually would accommodate more visitors during a winter.[21]

While the Flagler hotels and Casino were under construction, Franklin Smith was building a hotel of his own, the Casa Monica, in the adjacent block across Tolomato Street (now Cordova Street). Still experimenting with refinements in concrete construction, he utilized several independent but abutting units, using a new mixture of concrete employing sand dredged from the bay bottom. The resulting concrete was denser and harder than that used in the Flagler hotels and was more uniform in texture because it contained less shell.[22] The architectural style of the Cordova was medieval rather than Renaissance, with massive turrets and battlements. Smith's Casa Monica Hotel opened within days of the Ponce de Leon, although it was not fully completed at the time. Flagler purchased the Casa Monica from Smith within a year, renaming it the Cordova. For a few years in the early 1890s the Cordova enjoyed its share of prosperity, but after 1895 only its rooms would be opened, and in 1903, when it was connected to the Alcazar by a bridge over Cordova Street, it would be degraded to the position of "Alcazar annex."[23] A short-lived attempt was made to reopen the Cordova

18. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1892; April 1, 1893; January 27, 1894.
19. Lefevre, "Flagler and Florida," 182.
20. St. Augustine *Tatler*, March 23, 1901.
21. See "Annual Report of the Florida East Coast Hotel Co.," volumes for the years 1913-1931, Flagler Museum. The "Annual Reports" are detailed typescript accounts of the Flagler hotel system's financial affairs. Volumes for the years 1913 through 1962 are preserved in the Flagler Museum.
22. Smith, *Design and Prospectus*, 45.
23. Interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974; St.

as a low-cost hotel in the late 1920s, but this failed and thereafter the building stood empty except for the shops on its ground floor along King Street.[24]

The Ponce de Leon itself was completed in May 1887, while the Alcazar and Casa Monica were still unfinished. Local residents had never seen anything like these pretentious structures, and scoffers predicted that the large hotels would never be filled.[25] But Flagler worked to insure that his plans were accomplished. He purchased and improved the railroad from Jacksonville to St. Augustine to provide adequate transportation, and he mailed thousands of copies of Florida, The American Riviera to notables in the United States and Great Britain to make certain that the world knew what was about to transpire in the nation's oldest city.[26]

As the day of the Ponce de Leon's grand opening neared, an army of painters worked in shifts around the clock finishing their tasks. With construction finished, dozens of laborers were given their severance pay and discharged. Giant bonfires of rubbish from the construction site lit-up the evening sky as asphalt from nearby schooners was unloaded so the sandy streets around the hotel could be given a smooth black pavement. Finally the employees of the hotel– some 350– began arriving by train from New York.[27]

On January 10, 1888, the first plush vestibule train ever to arrive in St. Augustine pulled into the depot. Its passengers, invited guests of Flagler, were taken to the Ponce de Leon at dusk and saw for the first time the majestic hotel glimmering with hundreds of electric lights. Those taking dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Flagler that evening were the hotel's architects, builders, artists, and several railroad executives.[28] Two days later the hotel opened its registers for regular guests. The first grand ball was held in the large vaulted dining hall, with two orchestras playing in balconies at either end of the room. Among the hundreds of

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Augustine *Tatler*, January 13, April 7, 1894; January 18, 1896; January 10, 1903.

24. "Annual Report, 1927"; interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974.
25. *St. Augustine News,* April 5, 1891.
26. Castleden, *Early Years of the Ponce De Leon*, 17.
27. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 1, 3, 8, 13, 1888.
28. Castleden, *Early Years of the Ponce De Leon*, 37; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 11, 1888.

guests were Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant and Frederick Vanderbilt. Another ball later in the season was attended by Standard Oil executive William. R. Rockefeller.[29] Flagler's dream of a winter vacation palace had become a reality.

During its first half-decade the Ponce de Leon was reputedly the most exclusive winter resort in the nation. It was a time when a chance meeting in the halls of the hotel might result in a conversation between Flagler; the nation's largest landowner, Hamilton Disston; Vice-President Levi P. Morton; Congressman (later Governor) Roswell Flower of New York; Chauncey Depew; and Charles A. Dana of the New York *Sun*.[30] President Grover Cleveland paid a brief visit to the hotel only a month after its opening. He was driven to the front gate of the Ponce de Leon in a coach drawn by four white horses, after having threaded a circuitous route through the town past banner-decked hotel loggias and the seawall thronged with local citizens and winter visitors. In the great parlor he received several thousand persons, shaking hands with rich and poor, black and white. Cleveland returned to St. Augustine and the Ponce de Leon on four more occasions– 1893, 1899, 1903, and 1905.[31]

Four other presidents later enjoyed the hospitality of Flagler's finest hotel. William McKinley, then governor of Ohio, was a guest in 1895. In October 1905, the hotel was opened out-of-season for Theodore Roosevelt. Flagler's brother-in-law, William R. Kenan, Jr., lacer president of the Florida East Coast Hotel Company, noted that Roosevelt never then or later thanked anyone for the pains taken to accommodate him.[32] Warren G. Harding enjoyed long vacations at the Ponce de Leon, arriving in January 1921, following his election as president, and he returned again a year later. St. Augustine was charmed by the President, who fished, went boating, shook hands, and golfed on the new links north of the city.[33] Years later, in March 1963, Vice-Presi-

29. Castleden, *Early Years of the Ponce De Leon*, 38-40; *St. Augustine News*, March 4, 1888.
30. Castleden, *Early Years of the Ponce De Leon*, 69.
31. *Ibid.*, 59; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 17, 24, 1888; St. Augustine *Tatler*, February 14, 1903; March 25, 1905.
32. St. Augustine *Tatler*, March 30, 1895; January 6, 1906; Wm. R. Kenan, Jr., *Incidents by the Way: More Recollections*, 2nd ed. (n.p., 1949), 36.
33. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, January 11, 21, 22, February 15, 1921; March 14, 15, 1922; Marie Groves, "The Ponce de Leon Hotel: 1920-1929," 7, typed mss., Flagler College.

dent Lyndon B. Johnson was a guest at the hotel while in St. Augustine to participate in ceremonies at the historic restored area.[34]

Guests of the hotel during its early years were amused by such indigenous St. Augustine attractions as the Alligator Farm on Anastasia Island, the dungeons of old Fort Marion, and the little curio shops which lined sandy St. George Street. The big hotels also sponsored a variety of entertainments. The formal dances in the dining hall of the Ponce de Leon attracted fashionably-dressed guests from the other hotels and the town. The greatest of these affairs was the Hermitage Ball, held in 1892 to raise money for the restoration of Andrew Jackson's Tennessee home. The guest of honor was Ellen Call Long, daughter of Richard Keith Call, governor of Florida during the Territorial Period and a close friend of Jackson.[35] Exhibitions in the Casino pool were popular; horsemanship tournaments were held regularly; and bicycling was a favorite pastime. There was tennis on the Casino courts, but golf was perhaps the most exciting innovation of the era. In 1895 the first links were laid on the Fort Marion green (the moat making a formidable water trap), and there was great interest among the winter guests in the equipment and techniques employed in the game.[36]

Some of the more venturesome guests visited the antiquated rink in town to witness cake walks sponsored by the Negro bellhops and waiters of the hotels. The evening would begin with a "buck dance," done in a brisk, strutting, double-shuffle with the performer holding his head back. This was followed by singing and the cake walk itself, for which prizes were awarded. Finely-dressed couples, women in large shade hats with flowers, would stroll in a graceful and dignified manner before a panel of judges selected from distinguished hotel patrons. In a decade when Jim Crow legislation was drawing the color line more and more rigidly, it was a source of comment that the cake walks were an opportunity for blacks and whites to meet in a cordial atmosphere.[37] Later the cake walks were brought into the Casino and

34. *St. Augustine Record,* March 11, 1963.
35. *St. Augustine News,* February 1, 1891; St. Augustine *Tatler,* January 30, 1892.
36. St. Augustine *Tatler,* March 31, 1894; February 23, 1895.
37. *St. Augustine News,* March 1, 1891; St. Augustine *Tatler,* February 29, 1896; March 5, 1898.

held more frequently until they were supplanted by black-face minstrel shows.[38]

The workers employed by the hotels constituted a second estate in resort society. They lived in a sphere overlapping that of the hotel guests, but distinctly separate. A hotel system within the hotel system was needed to care for the large numbers of employees. Behind the great dining hall of the Ponce de Leon stood a building, fully as large as a wing of the hotel itself, in which were located. the kitchen, workshops, living quarters for the hotel's white employees, and several dining rooms for the various grades of workers.[39] Black males were housed in the "colored barracks," a quarter of a mile away on south Cordova Street; female Negroes lived in the large laundry building near the railroad depot.[40] A variety of skilled individuals were employed by the Flagler hotels: chefs, musicians, engineers, plumbers, carpenters, gardeners, dynamo-tenders, and two Pinkerton detectives to protect jewelry and watch out for bunko artists who followed the wealthy.[41] Most of these employees were career hotel workers who migrated from northern hotels in the summer to southern resorts during the winter months. Flagler and his business associates paid the men in key positions sufficiently well so that many remained with the system for years.[42]

St. Augustine was the winter home for a colony of artists, including most notably William Aiken Walker, who arrived in 1889.[43] That same year Flagler opened seven studios in the rear of the Ponce de Leon, and during the halcyon days of the hotel they were occupied by a group of talented New England painters whose canvasses helped make Florida landscapes familiar to the rest of the United States. Among the earliest of these artists-in-residence were Frank H. Shapleigh, W. Staples Drown, George W. Seavey (brother of the hotel manager), Robert S. German, and best known of all, Martin J. Heade, the famed landscape painter.

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38. St. Augustine *Tatler*, March 14, 1896; February 1, 1902; March 7, 1903; interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974.
39. St. Augustine *Tatler*, December 15, 1894.
40. Interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 29, 1888.
41. St. Augustine *Tatler*, April 1, 1893.
42. McGuire to Sidney M. Cole, September 1, 1908, 1908-1909 McGuire Letterbook, Flagler College.
43. August P. Trovaioli and Roulhac B. Toledano, *William Aiken Walker, Southern Genre Painter* (Baton Rouge, 1972), 40-42.

During his years at the Ponce de Leon he specialized in painting flowers and hummingbirds. He used studio number one until his death in 1904.[44] The weekly receptions held by the painters were among the social highlights of the winter season.[45]

The dispersion of the artist colony in the mid-1890s was only one aspect of a general decline in St. Augustine's fortunes as a luxury resort for high society. The artists left because their moneyed patrons discovered other tropic vistas where the winter months might be spent. Indeed the first adverse shock to strike the Ponce de Leon had been gathering even as the Vanderbilts and Rockefellers danced at the inaugural season balls. Yellow fever spread north from Tampa, following the railroads, and reached epidemic proportions in the summer and fall of 1888. The following winter season was disastrous, as Northerners stayed home rather than risk death from a disease which had no known cause or cure. Nevertheless, the Ponce de Leon rebounded in 1890 and 1891, and the ample house counts of the first year were almost equaled. But the following seasons witnessed a rapid, steady decline in the hotel's patronage which would not be arrested until the turn of the century.[46]

There were several reasons for St. Augustine's sagging fortunes, and the most important was beyond human control. In December 1894, and in February 1895, Florida was hit by the worst freezes in its history. In St. Augustine oranges were frozen solid on the branches, and all but the hardiest of the trees and shrubs around the Ponce de Leon were killed.[47] The immediate damage was repaired quickly, but the freeze was symptomatic of a grave shortcoming in St. Augustine as a winter resort: the weather simply was not as pleasant and sunny as in the more tropical southern peninsula. With the expansion of Flagler's own railroad and hotel empire down the east coast and the

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44. Castleden, *Early Years of the Ponce De Leon*, 31; St. Augustine *Tatler*, January 30, 1897; January 28, 1905. Later the studios became the offices of the Florida East Coast Hotel Company, and they are now used as classrooms by Flagler College. See also Robert C. McIntyre, *Martin Johnson Heade, 1819-1904* (Washington Square, New York, 1948).
45. Frederick A. Sharf, "St. Augustine: City of Artists, 1883-1895," *Antiques*, XC (August 1966), 220-23.
46. Hotel Ponce de Leon House Count Book, 1888-1928, Flagler Museum.
47. C. B. Knott to Harry Harkness Flagler, December 29, 1894; January 7, 1895; McGuire to Harry Harkness Flagler, December 30, 1894, Box 45-E, Flagler Museum.

progress of developers such as Henry Plant on the west coast, St. Augustine found itself in an increasingly unfavorable competitive position. "It strikes me," Flagler confided to his chief lieutenant J. R. Parrott, "that we have outgrown the Ponce de Leon."[48] By 1894 it was apparent that St. Augustine's share of the tourist patronage was shrinking as vacationers stopped only briefly on their way to or from Palm Beach and other more southerly resorts.[49]

There were other reasons for the steady decline in the Ponce de Leon's fortunes. The Panic of 1893 and subsequent decade-long depression curtailed the vacation travel of much of the nation.[50] But the very nature of St. Augustine society probably contributed more to the loss of business. The elite social set from the North seems to have found life in old St. Augustine "slow," local business leaders were often unresponsive to calls for concerted action to make the city more attractive, and the town council was under constant criticism for failure to clean up the streets.[51] Flagler himself expressed his disgust with the community's leaders in a 1906 letter: "I have realized from the beginning that St. Augustine was a dull place, but it does seem as though twenty years would stir up some little measure of public spirit; enough at least to keep the only street we have to the Railroad in decent condition."[52] Anna Marcotte, outspoken editor of the *Tatler*, published repeated demands for civic responsibility: "Shall this be the Newport of the South, or a Coney Island?"[53] By the time she asked the question the answer was already apparent– Palm Beach would be the winter Newport; St. Augustine would have to settle for less.

Yet St. Augustine recaptured some of its oldtime spirit as prosperity returned to the nation in the first decade of the twentieth century. When the tide of winter travelers to Florida

48. Henry M. Flagler to J. R. Parrott, September 9, 1895, Florida East Coast Correspondence file, 1895, St. Augustine Historical Society.
49. St. Augustine *Tatler,* March 3, 1894.
50. Hotel Ponce de Leon House Count Book, 1888-1900, Flagler Museum; St. Augustine *Tatler,* February 17, December 15, 1894.
51. St. Augustine *Tatler,* March 13, 1897; Parrott to Henry M. Flagler, July 6, 1906; J. E. Ingraham to Henry M. Flagler, June 27, 1906, F E C Correspondence file, 1906, St. Augustine Historical Society.
52. Henry M. Flagler to Ingraham, April 24, 1906, F E C Correspondence file, 1906, St. Augustine Historical Society.
53. St. Augustine *Tatler,* January 27, 1898.

mounted to unprecedented levels, the hotels were sometimes forced to set up cots in hallways to accommodate guests. However, the great bulk of business was now from tourists passing through St. Augustine enroute to some other place, and the peak season had shrunken to a brief two or three week period which did not justify the opening of other hotels. Moreover, much of this new traffic bypassed the Ponce de Leon since many of the new tourists were "cheap people" who could not afford the hotel's five-dollar-a-day rates.[54]

Nevertheless, more prosperous times had returned to the hotel, and Flagler, who had been busy for a decade in South Florida, began about 1905 to spend more time in St. Augustine where his Florida venture first began. He and Mary Lily Flagler, his third wife, would spend each December and early January in the Ponce de Leon, holding receptions and balls and presiding over an annual Christmas party for the children of friends around a giant Christmas tree in the rotunda of the hotel.[55] St. Augustinians who felt that Flagler had "soured" on their town long ago were pleased to see their patron return.[56] Flagler had directed that upon his death he would be buried in the Memorial Presbyterian Church in St. Augustine where his daughter, Jennie Louise Benedict, was already entombed. Following his death in Palm Beach in May 1913, Flagler's body was brought to the Ponce de Leon in a special train, and was placed in the rotunda while the people of St. Augustine paid last respects to their town's greatest citizen.[57]

The winter season preceding Flagler's death had been one of the Ponce de Leon's worst ever, as the renewed decline of the hotel's fortunes reached low ebb. The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914, held more ominous portents for the hotel's future. Plant superintendent J. A. McGuire after writing to northern hotel managers asking what effect the war was hav-

54. McGuire to H. E. Bemis, January 29, 1908, 1907-1908 McGuire Letterbook, Flagler College; St. Augustine *Tatler,* April 1, 1905; March 30, 1907.
55. St. Augustine *Tatler,* January 6, 1905; January 5, 19, 1907; January 4, 18, 1908.
56. Ingraham to Henry M. Flagler, June 27, 1906, F E C Correspondence file, 1906, St. Augustine Historical Society.
57. *St. Augustine Evening Record,* May 23, 1913; Frank Carleton, "A History of the Ponce de Leon Hotel from 1911-1920," 5-6, typed mss., Flagler College.

ing on their business, decided that "prospects for a successful season do not look bright."[58] Remarkably, contrary to McGuire's fears, the war launched the Ponce de Leon on another succession of good years. Travellers who usually went to Europe and the Bahamas were now restricted to the continental United States, and in 1917 the Ponce de Leon enjoyed its most prosperous season since 1893.[59] American entry into the war and wartime restrictions on travel, which hurt stop-over resorts such as St. Augustine more than Palm Beach or Miami, did seriously cut into the Ponce de Leon's business in 1918, but the following year northern vacationers began arriving in unprecedented volume.[60] The Florida Boom of the 1920s was already beginning.

Although the boom was centered in South Florida, St. Augustine experienced a rapid increase in building construction and tourism. Life in the old city took on a gayer aspect. During the winter season dances were held outdoors on Cordova Street, Mack Sennett's bathing beauties graced the stage of the Jefferson Theatre, a stock ticker machine was placed in the Ponce de Leon so that visitors could keep up with the latest increases on Wall Street, the Ku Klux Klan paraded around the town plaza, and dare-devil pilot Doug Davis piloted his stunt plane between the towers of the Ponce de Leon.[61] John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his three sons were guests in the hotel.[62] The automobiles parked in the streets around the Ponce de Leon indicated renewed vitality. But the automobile, symbol of American prosperity, proved to be the ruin of the Ponce de Leon. Increasingly, tourists were driving down U. S. 1, the "Sunshine Highway," past the sedate resort palaces of a bygone era and seeking out the casual convenience of low-cost motor courts and the more lively activity in places like Miami Beach and Fort Lauderdale. The Ponce de Leon began to run at an annual deficit beginning in 1924, while the boom was yet in full swing, and it never reported a profit thereafter.[63]

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58. McGuire to William MacAuliffe, August 17, 1914; McGuire to Ernest Robinson, August 12, 1914, 1914 McGuire Letterbook, Flagler College.
59. "Annual Report, 1917."
60. Carleton, "A History of the Ponce de Leon Hotel from 1911-1920," 9-11; "Annual Reports," 1918, 1919.
61. Groves, "The Ponce de Leon Hotel: 1920-1929," 4-9.
62. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, March 30, 1925.
63. "Annual Reports," 1924-1962.

The depression of the 1930s was a crushing blow to many of the old hotels of Florida. The Alacazar was closed after the 1931 season, the Royal Poinciana in Palm Beach was torn down the following year, and the Royal Palm in Miami had already been demolished a few years earlier. Only three Flagler hotels survived: the Ponce de Leon, the Ormond in Ormond Beach, and the Breakers in Palm Beach. In 1932 the nadir was reached. On an average day only forty-one guests stayed in the Ponce de Leon, a hotel with more than 400 rooms.[64]

The Florida East Coast Hotel Company minimized losses by reducing staff, cutting salaries, and postponing all but the most essential maintenance.[65] Ponce de Leon plant superintendent Joseph McAloon found his salary cut by forty per cent and saw his maintenance force reduced to one Negro helper.[66] Business improved slightly later in the decade, dipping again with the recession of 1937, but the Ponce de Leon continued to lose money. The Breakers, rebuilt for the third time in 1926, maintained a substantial profit margin throughout the depression, and helped keep the other hotels in the system open.

Despite its difficulties, the Ponce de Leon remained the social center of St. Augustine and the place where important civic functions were held. Its ornate dining hall was a favorite place to celebrate New Year's Eve, and guests travelled long distances to dine and dance there. The annual March of Dimes charity ball was a main event, as were weekly bridge teas and Sunday night concerts which were attended by the local citizens as well as hotel patrons. With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, the Ponce de Leon was used to stage benefits for financing British relief efforts.[67]

With the entry of this country into the conflict in December 1941, Florida's major industry, tourism, was faced with collapse because of restrictions on travel and sale of gasoline. The 1942 season was overshadowed by the events at Pearl Harbor, and the Ponce de Leon stood virtually empty. Business and political leaders petitioned Washington to do something to avert economic disaster in Florida. These efforts resulted in the lease of

64. *Ibid.*, 1932.
65. *Ibid.*, 1932, 1933, 1934.
66. Interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974.
67. Barbara Bordewisch, "A History of St. Augustine and the Ponce de Leon Hotel During the War Years, 1940-1946," 6-7, typed mss., Flagler College.

the Ponce de Leon to the Coast Guard for use as a training center from September 1942, to June 1945. Other resort hotels in the state were similarly utilized by the military.[68] Two months after being turned over to the Coast Guard there were 2,100 cadet trainees stationed in the hotel, and the old building's plaster was falling in great sheets because of the unusual activity.[69] St. Augustine vibrated with the tramp of marching feet, military bands, and artillery practice.

The end of the war seemed to signal the return to prosperity. The Ponce de Leon underwent extensive repairs and modernization, and attracted large crowds in 1946 and 1947 that rekindled memories of earlier days.[70] Then the former pattern of decline resumed; each year fewer and fewer guests returned. State government surveys pointed with precision to the reasons why: only eight of every 100 tourists remained in northeast Florida; only thirteen of every 100 sought accommodations in hotels. Most visitors travelled in cars, and many came in the summer months when the Ponce de Leon was closed.[71] Realizing the changed pattern of tourism, the Flagler interests opened the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge on U. S. 1 north of St. Augustine in 1958. The way was now prepared for the closing and possible destruction of the venerable Hotel Ponce de Leon.

The square in downtown St. Augustine bordered by the Ponce de Leon, Alcazar, and Cordova hotel buildings had become, in the opinion of many, a blighted eyesore. The Cordova building contained shops and stores on its street level, but its upper floors had been empty since the 1930s. The Alcazar had remained closed from 1932 until 1947, when it was purchased by O. C. Lightner of Chicago for use as a museum of hobbies. However, Lightner utilized only a few of the hotel's rooms and did little to maintain the building.[72]

While many other American cities had resorted to dynamite and wrecking crews to solve similar problems, St. Augustine's

68. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 416-17; "Annual Report, 1942," iv; "Annual Report, 1945," iv.
69. Interview with Joseph McAloon, St. Augustine, August 2, 1974.
70. "Annual Report, 1946," ii; "Annual Report, 1947," ii.
71. Florida Development Commission, *Tourist Studies in Florida, 1958* (Tallahassee, 1959), 6, 8; *1967 Florida Tourist Study* (Tallahassee, 1968 [?]), table 1, chart 2.
72. *St. Augustine Record,* June 6, 9, 27, 1947; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Jacksonville Journal,* August 22, 1971.

civic leaders responded with creative solutions to preserve and utilize the historic buildings. In 1961 the St. Johns County Commission appointed a committee to explore the possibilities of turning the Cordova into a courthouse. Although it was realized that conversion of the building would require extensive interior reconstruction, the Cordova was subsequently purchased from the Florida East Coast Hotel Company, completely renovated, and reopened in 1968 as the County Courthouse.[73] Two months before the completion of the Cordova renovation the St. Augustine City Commission decided to remodel the Alcazar as a city building. This work was completed in January 1972. The Lightner Museum was reopened in August 1974, having been relocated in the section of the Casino formerly occupied by the baths.[74]

The fate of the Ponce de Leon itself was publicly announced on January 18, 1967, when Flagler Systems President Lawrence Lewis told a group of civic leaders assembled in the great dining hall that extensive studies had shown that it was no longer feasible to continue operation of the hotel. Therefore, he declared, the building had been sold and would be converted into a college for women. News of the hotel's closing brought a notable upsurge of visitors who wished to spend one more weekend in the famous hostelry before the end. In April 1967, the Hotel Ponce de Leon closed its doors for the last time after eighty seasons.[75]

Eighteen months later Flagler College began registering its first students. Since that time it has become co-educational, received accreditation, and has graduated three classes. The success of Flagler College augers well for the future of the great building whose walls were built to last through the centuries.

73. *St. Augustine Record*, May 29, 1968.
74. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1947; March 13, 1968; January 18, 1972.
75. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1972; St. Augustine *Sunday Record & Times-Union*, April 2, 1967.

MISSIONS IN THE DEFENSE OF SPANISH FLORIDA, 1566-1710

by ROBERT ALLEN MATTER*

STUDENTS OF COLONIAL Latin America generally credit its Indian mission systems as effective instruments of frontier defense.[1] A study of the Spanish missions of Florida does not support this thesis. The "paper" bulwark provided by the Florida missions when challenged could represent a significant exception to the alleged importance of the defense role of the church in the Indies. Or, it could reveal that the missionaries played an ineffective part in the defense of Latin-American frontiers. Regardless, Florida's story suggests the need for a critical re-examination of the premise that religious missions held strategic areas beyond the line of established settlements.

For about a century after the consolidation of Menéndez de Avilés's 1565 conquest a serious external threat to the strategic colony appeared remote, and Spain seemed satisfied to concentrate on evangelizing Florida's aborigines. Presumably, the Christian missions would secure the settlement with a minimum of Spanish military and economic assistance. Nevertheless, chronic difficulties – royal neglect, resulting in inadequate economic and military support; an unwillingness or inability to establish a sound local economy; Indian troubles; and dissension between Florida's governors and missionaries– plagued the colony throughout its first Spanish era. The debilitating church-state feud fed the other problems, hindering the development of a sound colony.

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1. Herbert E. Bolton, *Wider Horizons of American History* (New York, 1939; facsimile edition, South Bend, Indiana, 1967), 80-84, 109-10, 115-19, 123-28, 130-31, 147; Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763* (Washington, 1941), 24-25, 35, 58, 60, 118n, 119-20n, 148; John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 6; Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida, Land of Change,* 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, 1948), 56, 60.

Three general types of discord between the governors and the fathers marked the church-state bickering: a struggle for jurisdiction over the mission Indians; disputes concerning proper treatment of the aborigines; and conflicts in determining priorities between military security and the religious effort. Of these controversies, the latter most adversely influenced colonial Florida's military weakness and thus its vulnerability.

The dispute over military security began early in Florida's history. During a brief, unsuccessful Jesuit period, 1566-1572, despite Menéndez' support of their program, Father Superior Juan Bautista de Segura opposed the governor's policy of stationing troops in or near the Indian missions. Segura claimed the unchristian example set by the soldiers and their drain on Indian food supplies made the padres' challenging task of converting the natives more difficult.[2] Thus began an argument that continued intermittently throughout most of the mission period: were military detachments on the frontiers, supposedly hindering the evangelical program, essential for the security of the colony?

The fate of the Jesuit missions illustrates the ineffectiveness of the defense role of the church in Florida. Inadequate military garrisons in the south enabled Indian rebellions to force the abandonment of missions at Tequesta, near present-day Miami, and San Antonio on Charlotte Harbor. After further conversion attempts in the northern coastal provinces of Guale and Orista failed, the Jesuits decided to carry the faith to Ajacán on the Bay of Santa María (Chesapeake), where the Indians had not been spoiled by Spanish troops. Scorning military protection, the isolated mission collapsed in martyrdom in 1571, within months after its arrival. The tragedy ended Jesuit evangelical activity in Spanish Florida.[3]

2. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida 1562-1574,* II (New York, 1905; facsimile edition, New York, 1959), 346-47; Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, comps. and eds., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, 1953), 26, 74, 221. See also Robert Allen Matter, "The Spanish Missions of Florida: The Friars Versus the Governors in the 'Golden Age,' 1606-1690" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1972), 171-72, 201-02, 308-11; "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LII (July 1973), 18-38.

3. Zelia Sweett and Mary Sheppy, *The Spanish Missions of Florida* (St. Augustine, 1940), 16-18; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* II, 340-48; Felix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La Misión Jesuitica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española* (Roma, 1941), 279, 371, 422-23; Bartolomé Barrientos, *Pedro*

In 1573 a small band of Franciscan friars arrived in Florida. They also objected to military garrisons near mission towns, protesting that soldiers hampered evangelism. Nevertheless, despite the support of the converted chief of Guale and the interest of other local natives in Christianity, three Indian uprisings between 1576 and 1583 forced three Spanish evacuations of their northernmost outpost at Santa Elena (Port Royal Sound). By 1588 the overtaxed Spaniards had permanently abandoned the post.[4]

The faltering missionary program began in earnest in the autumn of 1595 with the arrival of significant Franciscan reinforcements. In a rare climate of friendly relations between the fathers and soldiers, Florida yielded an estimated 1,500 Christian Indians by the end of the year.[5] Seemingly, the zealous friars had "reduced the Gualeans to a state of docility, or acquiescence. . . . Where the soldier once dared not venture out in search of provisions, the Indian now submitted to regulatory action of the padres, and all raised their voices with the friar in the Ave María, the Pater Noster, and the Credo."[6]

The "bubble" burst in September 1597 with the martyrdom of five Franciscans by Christian and pagan natives resentful of the missionaries' ban against polygamy. It required two ruthless punitive military expeditions to subdue the rebels and restore order. Not until the end of 1601 were the Gualeans again at peace with their Spanish masters. The rebellion reportedly set back mission development twelve to fifteen years.[7]

Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida, trans. Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1965), 120, 126-32; Father Juan Rogel to Menéndez de Avilés, December 9, 1570, in Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida, Su Conquista y Colonización par Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 301-08; Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit Mission*, vii, 15-24, 27-28, 38-40, 45-48, 89-93, 107-10, 118-20, 181-82, 220-24; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 33-36.

4. Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1513-1618)* (Washington, 1937), 36-38; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 58-59; Gregory Joseph Keegan y Leandro Tormo Sanz, *Experiencia Misionera en La Florida (Siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid, 1957), 259-65; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 59-64, 74.
5. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 73; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 58-68; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 36-39; Keegan y Tormo Sanz, *Experiencia Misionera*, 273-78.
6. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 72.
7. Luís Gerónimo de Oré, "The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)," trans. and

Ignoring less-civilized southern tribes, the recuperated Franciscans steadily moved inland, reaching the Suwannee River in the province of Timucua by 1616. Unable to provide military protection, the governors for a time restrained the eager friars from pushing further westward, where one-half or more of the populous, sedentary Apalachee tribe reputedly desired to become Christians.[8] Finally, in 1633 Governor Luis de Horruytiner blessed the expansion of the mission system into the long-coveted province of Apalachee. He believed converted Indians on his western frontier not only would be welcome additions to the ranks of Christendom, but also would serve to strengthen the colony's defenses.[9]

As in Guale a half-century earlier, the Apalachee appeared to accept docilely Spanish-Christian restraints and abuses, but the Apalachee also turned on their rulers and shepherds. In a sudden attack in 1647 a band of Apalachee killed three of the eight Franciscans and destroyed the seven principal missions in the province, suspending evangelism there. Assisted by loyal Apalachee, Spanish troops put down the revolt. Florida's royal treasury officials, reporting on the rebellion, confirmed their belief that the mission of the colony's military contingent was to support the conversion of the natives. They added that to do so effectively they needed thirty or forty more soldiers to establish

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ed. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Studies*, 18 (July 1936), 73-96; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 86-122, 150; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida*, 26-30; Keegan y Tormo Sanz, *Experiencia Misionera*, 275-83.

8. Oré, "Martyrs of Florida," 112-36; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 218, 227, 232, 239-59; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 49-55; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida*, 4; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 16-17; Governor Juan Fernández de Olivera to Crown, October 13, 1612, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, *estante* 54, *cajón* 5, *legajo* 14, *número* 72, photostat in Stetson Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Archivo General photostats and transcripts hereinafter will be cited as AGI, followed by location and document numbers; Stetson Collection documents will be cited as ST. Olivera to Crown, October 13, 1612, AGI 54-5-10, microfilm reel 6, Woodbury Lowery Collection of Manuscripts, "The Spanish Settlements in the United States, MSS, Florida" (hereinafter cited as WL-Reel No.), translated summary in "A Calendar of Spanish Documents Pertaining to Florida, 1512-1764," William B. Griffin, comp., 1959, St. Augustine Historical Society Library (hereinafter cited as SAHS).

9. Governor Luis de Horruytiner to King, November 15, 1633, AGI 54-5-18, 15, ST.

a garrison in Apalachee, where it would complete the conquest of the heathen and maintain security in the province.[10]

The Apalachian revolt kept alive the issue of whether or not soldiers should be stationed in or near the Indian missions. Responding to a complaint from Fray Pedro Moreno Ponce de León, the King accused Florida's governors of using the pretext of royal service to send troops to the provinces to trade and farm for their personal profit. The soldiers, the King charged, exploited and abused the Indians, negating the magnificent efforts of the Franciscans. His Majesty's only interest in Florida was to "salvage and increase the work of holy conversions."[11]

The dispute became particularly heated during the regime of Governor Diego de Rebolledo, 1654-1658. In 1656 an eight-month Indian rebellion in Timucua and Apalachee wracked Rebolledo's troubled administration. The governor and the friars blamed each other for the revolt. The Florida missions had reached their probable greatest numerical strength the year before. As usual in such insurrections, the missions in the area were destroyed and Spanish soldiers had to suppress it and restore control.[12]

Bitterly denouncing Governor Rebolledo, the Franciscans spelled out their objections to quartering troops among the missions. First, Rebolledo's detachment of a lieutenant and twelve soldiers could not protect any area. The soldiers' presence in the villages engendered Indian mutiny. Weak bachelors, inclined "that way," aroused jealousy among Indian braves when the whites took their women. Soldiers sometimes mistreated friars as well as Indians, reducing the padres' influence over the natives. As the troops required local support, they were not welcome, but

10. Royal Officials of Florida to King, March 18, 1647, AGI 54-5-14, 105, ST; July 28, 1647, AGI 54-5-20, 51, ST; Petition of Fray Pedro Moreno Ponce de León, endorsed July 9, 1648, AGI 54-5-20, 54, ST; Petition of Moreno, endorsed August 3, 1648, AGI 54-5-20, 58, ST; Royal Cédula to Governor and Royal Officials of Florida, August 8, 1648, AGI 58-1-21, 5, ST; Royal Cédula to Royal Officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, ST; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 56-57; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 167-69; Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 119; Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," 27-29.

11. Royal Cédula to Royal Officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, ST.

12. Father Juan Gómez to Father Francisco Martínez, March 13, 1657, AGI 54-5-10, 73, ST; April 4, 1657, AGI 54-5-10, 74, ST; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 169, 204-08; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 57-59; Matter, "Spanish Missions of Florida," 106, 262.

the Indians were afraid to complain to the governor. The priests believed a lieutenant and one soldier could perform all legitimate duties without straining Indian resources.[13]

In rebuttal, Rebolledo cited repeated royal orders charging him with the defense of Florida, whose coasts were infested with enemy vessels. The governor pointed out that soldier abuses of the Indians could be corrected or tempered, giving the friars a chance to function, whereas an enemy occupation of an inadequately-defended province would prevent Spanish evangelism there. The small force he had sent to Apalachee was to be reinforced, for he planned to establish a Spanish fort and settlement there. According to Rebolledo, the *caciques* (chiefs) claimed their people were well-treated by the soldiers, whom they welcomed.[14]

Though Rebolledo's small detachment remained in Apalachee, his recommendation to reduce the number of Franciscans in Florida was ignored; nor could he convince the Crown of the need for greater military protection for the missions. Instead, the Council of the Indies, charged with the administrative supervision of Spanish America, recommended to the King an increase of thirty Franciscans in Florida. Emphasizing that the principal obligation of the Crown was the conversion of the Indians, it declared it was proper for His Majesty to support the poor padres who would serve like soldiers defending the frontiers.[15]

Despite continuing Franciscan opposition, the Crown, in the face of reports of English overtures to Florida's Indians, dared not withdraw the infantry from Apalachee. Complying with new royal orders, Rebolledo's successors maintained a small force there consistent with inadequate total military strength and needs elsewhere. Like their predecessors they reasoned that the safety of the missions depended upon effective local military de-

13. Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, WL-7, trans. by E. W. Lawson, SAHS.
14. *Ibid*.; "Testimony of Governor Diego de Rebolledo's *Visita* of Apalachee and Timucua," January-September 1657, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 18, ST; Rebolledo to Crown, October 18, 1657, AGI 58-1-26, 4, ST.
15. Rebolledo to Crown, October 18, 1657, AGI 58-1-26, 4, ST; Council of the Indies to King, March 23, 1658, AGI 53-1-6, 71, ST. Four years later the Franciscans complained that their current governor still had not withdrawn the soldiers from Apalachee, thus failing to comply with a royal *cédula* of March 29, 1659. See Franciscans of Florida to Crown, December 21, 1662, AGI 54-5-20, ST.

tachments.[16] Reinforcing their belief, in 1661, as always, it required a military expedition from the capital to arrest frequent heathen-Indian raids which had forced the displacement of the most important mission in Guale, Tolomato, to a location only about eight miles north of St. Augustine.[17] When Governor Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes reported that the Indians had ravaged Guale and that foreign whites were constructing a fort near the northern frontier, the safety of Spanish fleets in the Bahama Channel again became an important matter for consideration in Madrid.[18] Regardless, in 1664 the persistent Franciscans, echoing their previous objections, again requested the King to order the withdrawal of the infantry from Apalachee and "from wherever else they might be." The Crown, however, manifested its growing awareness of Florida's vulnerability and importance in a firm response referring to recent instructions for the governor to fortify Apalachee.[19]

A surprise sacking of St. Augustine by the English "pirate," Robert Searles, in May 1668, reinforced Madrid's shifting emphasis to military affairs in Florida. Among other measures Mariana, the Queen Regent during the minority of Charles II, 1665-1675, directed the construction of a stone fortress at St. Augustine.[20]

To counteract the growing English threat, Governor Manuel de Cendoya in 1671 stationed twenty-five soldiers at Santa Catalina, then the colony's northernmost post. He maintained his Apalachian garrison also at twenty-five. To alleviate his military

16. Governor Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes to King, January 5, 1659, AGI 58-2-2, 3, ST; November 9, 1659, AGI 58-1-26, 5, ST; Ad-interim Governor Nicolás Ponce de León II to King, February 19, 1664, AGI 54-5-10, 95, ST.
17. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 209-10.
18. Aranguiz y Cotes to King, September 8, 1662, AGI 54-5-10, 94, ST; Junta de Guerra de Indias to Council of the Indies, October 10, 1662, AGI 58-2-2, 9, ST.
19. Franciscans of Florida to King, June 16, 1664, AGI 54-5-18, 64, ST.
20. Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega to Queen, August 8, 1668, AGI 54-5-10, 106 1/2, ST; Junta de Guerra to Queen, January 22, 1669, AGI 58-2-2, 11, ST, trans. by North Carolina Works Project Administration and North Carolina Historical Commission; Junta de Guerra to Queen, March 8, 1669, AGI 58-2-2, 12, ST; Royal Cédula to Viceroy of New Spain, March 11, 1669, AGI 2-4-1/19, 2, ST. Queen Mariana's regency is cited from Lucy L. Wenhold, trans. and ed., "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 95, no. 16, publication 3398 (Washington, 1936), 6.

weakness Cendoya would try to form a company of cavalry and one of militia, but he pointed out the lack of colonists for such an enterprise.[21] Preoccupied with critical military problems, Governor Cendoya still hoped to further the evangelical effort, but under a protective military umbrella. In December 1672, the governor stated he needed 100 infantry to fortify and defend adequately the fertile province of Apalachee. Only nineteen soldiers were stationed there at the time; thirteen were in Guale.[22] By May 1675, the strength of the Guale garrison had fallen to nine.[23]

While Florida's military posture was deteriorating, its evangelical program, favored by the Crown, overcoming great obstacles, expanded considerably. In 1655 it claimed an unlikely 26,000 Indian converts in about forty principal missions, served by possibly seventy friars. By 1675, the mission system had reached its greatest extent and influence.[24] As seen, during such relatively prosperous times the missions, when tested, were ineffective instruments of frontier defense. In the late 1660s, the Crown, reversing its policy, began to favor the governors in the church-state dispute over colonial security. Partly as a result, the friars eventually lost much of their zeal, and the missions began to decay.[25] During the decline in strength and vitality of the mission system after 1675, it failed to meet even greater challenges to its defense role than it previously unsuccessfully had faced.

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21. Governor Manuel de Cendoya to Queen, October 31, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 13 A-B, ST; November 6, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 14, ST.
22. Cendoya to Queen, November 6, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 14, ST; February 3, 1672, AGI 58-1-35, 8, ST; December 15, 1672, AGI 58-1-26, 21, ST; December 20, 1672, AGI 54-2-3, 7, ST.
23. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar to Queen, June 15, 1675, AGI 32-4-29/35, 2, ST.
24. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 57, 64-67; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 166-69, 213; Matter, "Spanish Missions of Florida," 88-89, 102-03, 106, 111-17, 339-40n, 340-4ln, 345n, 349; Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," 18-19; Mark F. Boyd, "Spanish Mission Sites in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (April 1939), 255-80; Maynard Geiger, "Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841)," *Franciscan Studies*, XXI (1940), 1-9, 119-31.
25. Visitador Father Juan Machado to King, August 8, 1688, AGI 54-5-12, 69, ST; Fray Manuel Mendoza to Governor of Florida, September 10, 1687, enclosure to Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to the Crown, May 20, 1691, AGI 54-5-13/21, ST, translated summary in "Religious Index of Persons, Places, and Things," Catholic Historical Survey of Florida, St. Augustine Foundation, 1963-1965 (hereinafter cited as RI), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; Quiroga y Losada to Crown, August 31, 1690, AGI 54-5-13, 13-13[2], microfilm

In 1674 and 1675, at the zenith of its mission era, Florida enjoyed the second episcopal visitation of its long-neglected existence. During his ten strenuous months in the colony Don Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, bishop of Santiago de Cuba, visited all thirty-six principal missions and confirmed 13,152 Christian Indians. Travelling more than forty leagues north from St. Augustine to Santa Catalina and over 100 leagues west as far as the Chattahoochee River in Apalachicola, Calderón reported two to twenty leagues separated the missions. Protecting this impressive religious empire, the bishop described, in addition to the *castillo* at the capital, an infantry garrison with cannon at the large Apalachian mission of San Luis de Talimali (on the western edge of current Tallahassee) and "an officer with a good garrison of infantry at Santa Catalina." During this period of prime religious activity Calderón found it prudent to maintain at his own expense a company of Spanish infantry from St. Augustine and two companies of Indian arquebusiers and archers to escort him safely through the frontier areas flanked by the "barbarous and warlike heathen" Chiscas and Chichimecos.[26]

Assuming a five-year gubernatorial term in 1675, Pablo de Hita Salazar also experienced an Indian uprising which demonstrated again the impracticality of the Franciscan agitation to remove Spanish soldiers from the Florida frontiers. This time, in mid-1675, the Chacatos in Apalachicola revolted. They were new converts who had been helped into the fold by Bishop Calderón. When a small military relief column proved to be inadequate, the two resident priests retired with the soldiers to fortified San Luis de Talimali. By October a stronger Spanish force had restored order in Apalachicola.[27] The governor urged the Crown to

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reel 8, Spanish Records of North Carolina Historical Commission (hereinafter cited as NC-Reel No.), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Quiroga y Losada to King, November 28, 1692, AGI 54-5-13, 148, ST, RI; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 69-74; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 199-200; Matter, "Spanish Missions of Florida," 116-22, 189-91, 309-17; Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, 1951), x, 6, 8; Geiger, "Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans," 9, 127-40.

26. Wenhold, "17th Century Letter," 2-12; Bishop of Cuba to Queen, November 20, 1675, ACI 54-3-2, 1, ST. A "Calderón league" equals approximately 2.6 English miles. Boyd, "Spanish Mission Sites," 275. Griffin, in *Here They Once Stood*, 139, gives the 1675 population of San Luis as 1,400. Matter, "Spanish Missions of Florida," 349n, 353n; Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1929), 9.

27. De Hita Salazar to Queen, August 9, 1675, AI Escribanía de Cámara,

send 100 more soldiers and 100 families previously requested—the minimum needed to secure the colony. The royal response the next year authorized de Hita Salazar to build the most economical fort to protect the port of Apalachee and to report his needs.[28]

In a 1676 petition requesting new missionaries, Fray Alonso del Moral referred to a royal *cédula* which cited the "poor religious that go not only to convert Indians so ferocious as those of Florida, but also to defend like soldiers those frontiers."[29] The story of the Chacato revolt and accounts of earlier and later Indian uprisings, reveal some exaggeration in such a contention.

The ejection of the friars from Apalachicola in 1675 and their inability to re-establish themselves there later, despite military support which they had requested, perhaps caused the Franciscans to reflect on their claim of defending the frontiers.[30] At any rate, the Florida church-state controversy over military security subsided near the end of the seventeenth century, while those concerned with jurisdiction and treatment of the Indians continued unabated, or even increased.

Interwoven with the dispute about the deployment of the colony's military contingent was a running feud over the ratio of friars to soldiers in the *dotación*, as Florida's manpower allotment was called. A corollary to this argument was the debate over the portion of the *situado,* or supporting royal subsidy from New Spain, which should go to the missions. The governors, invariably military men, charged with the security of Florida, frequently disagreed with the churchmen and the Crown on the matter. Although most governors encouraged and supported a vigorous religious campaign, they deplored the inclusion of the Franciscans in their manning table. Almost with one voice they urged the Crown to establish a separate religious personnel pol-

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legajo 156, ZZ Coyer, page folios 119-42, ST. Calderón claimed that those Indians had eagerly awaited conversion for many years. Wenhold, "17th Century Letter," 9.

28. De Hita Salazar to Queen, August 24, 1675, AGI 32-4-29/35, 5, ST; Royal Cédula to de Hita Salazar, June 20, 1676, AGI 34-4-29/35, ST.
29. Royal Cédula to Casa de Contratación, March 29, 1658, enclosure to Petition of Fray Alonso del Moral, endorsed September 24, 1676, AGI 54-5-20, 103, ST.
30. Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera to King, December 8, 1680, AGI 54-5-11, Woodbury Lowery Manuscripts, ". . . MSS, Florida," vol. IX, Library of Congress; Royal Cédula to Cabrera, November 10, 1682, AGI 58-1-21, 352, NC-5, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

icy and to support the missionaries from sources other than Florida's subsidy, which invariably arrived late and short of the prescribed amount. In their view, the greater the number of friars in the *dotación*, the fewer the number of soldiers, and thus the weaker the defenses. This local secular concern for the military strength of the colony rebutted the premise of the Spanish government, the Franciscans, and modern scholars that the mission system, as an agent of the Church and the state, teamed with the presidio to hold conquered districts and defend endangered frontiers. The royal concept of the missions as instruments of defense in the Indies was illustrated by the practice of charging their expenses, as well as those of the presidios, to the war ministry.[31]

By 1595, after Florida appeared secure, the Crown gradually had reduced the authorized personnel strength to a stabilized figure of 300. Although soldiers comprised the bulk of the garrison, the *dotación* usually also included, from 1615, forty-three Franciscans. At times widows, retired soldiers, and other militarily ineffectives also made up a part of the garrison's roster. The missionaries, who comprised the biggest block of non-military personnel, were considered to be occupying soldier spaces in the manning table and were supposed to receive soldier pay and support from the elusive *situado.* As the amount of the subsidy depended upon the size of the garrison, supposedly limited by the 300-man *dotación*, including the friars, military strength and support theoretically varied inversely as that of the padres.[32]

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31. Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," 20, 22-24, 26, 31, 33-38; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 24-25, 30, 35, 61, 118n, 119-20n; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida,* 24; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 67, 248-49; Bolton, *Wider Horizons,* 80-84, 109, 115, 124-25, 147. In a seeming exception to, or contradiction of, the premise that mission expenses were charged to the military budget, the King in 1651 wrote, perhaps rhetorically, that he maintained the presidio and soldiers in Florida to employ churchmen and augment the faith there, thereby including defense costs in an evangelical budget. Royal Cédula to Royal Officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, ST; Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-century Florida Missions," 35-36.

32. Governor Juan de Salinas to King, November 20, 1618, AGI 54-5-10, 7, ST; Governor Luis de Rojas y Borja to Crown, February 11, 1624, AGI 53-2-11, ST: Horruytiner to King, November 15, 1633, AGI 54-5-10, 35, ST; Petition of Fray Juan Moreno, endorsed April 22, 1673, AGI 54-5-20, 99, ST; de Hita Salazar to Queen, June 15, 1675, AGI 32-4-29/35, 2, ST; Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," 35-38; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 24-25, 133n; Matter, "Span-

A rare display of Franciscan agreement with gubernatorial defense requirements occurred in late 1606, when Philip III ordered Governor Pedro de Ibarra to eliminate the presidio at St. Augustine and reduce the number of Florida's soldiers to 150. The friars, fearing that pagan Indians would wipe out the missions if Spanish military strength were diminished so drastically, unconditionally backed the governor's protest, and the King withdrew the order.[33] However, until late in the seventeenth century, the usual Franciscan attitude toward the military, and the churchmen's concept of the broad scope of their work, were more aptly expressed by Father Francisco Pareja to Visitor General Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré in 1614: "It seems to them [government officials] that the soldiers are the necessary ones . . . and that we are of no use, but we are the ones who bear the burden and heats, and who are the ones who are subduing and conquering the land."[34]

The issue of military-religious strength priorities remained prominent during the next forty years of Crown-supported mission expansion, coupled with neglect of the military. For example, Governor Juan de Treviño Guillamas (1613-1618) complained about the excessive number of missionaries alloted to Florida and the resulting paucity of soldiers. He thought eight or ten religious, rather than the forty-three then assigned, would suffice, and he advocated reducing their number to augment his military strength.[35] Further, in 1621 Governor Juan de Salinas reported the actual strength of the Florida garrison as 250, including thirty-five Franciscans. He recommended it be increased to the authorized strength of 300, excluding the religious.[36] Meanwhile, the Franciscans asked the Crown for an increase of

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ish Missions of Florida," 417-22; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 210-13; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 5-6; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida,* 22, 24; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 6.

33. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 208-12; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida,* 39.
34. Oré, "Martyrs of Florida," 107. The Franciscans felt "with some justification that their work and their success in controlling the Indians made them . . . indispensable. . . ." At times they considered themselves a superior instrument of frontier defense than the military. During the first century of colonial Florida's existence, the Crown appeared to back the missionaries' contention. See Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 24-25.
35. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 246-49.
36. Salinas to King, May 15, 1621, AGI 54-5-10, 11, ST.

thirty missionaries to a total of sixty-five to serve the growing number of Indian converts.[37]

Again, reporting on the Apalachian rebellion of 1647, Florida's royal officials claimed there would be enough soldiers in the colony if the forty-three priests assigned were not included in the 300-man *dotación*.[38] Reacting to the revolt and influenced by the religious, the Crown in July 1648, raised the number of authorized Franciscans in Florida to seventy. However, in keeping with a 1646 royal decree the number of friars would not detract from a 300-man military *dotación* .[39] Nevertheless, subsequent reports continued to show forty-three Franciscans occupying spaces in the manning table.

Despite a flood of royal orders to strengthen Florida's defenses during the period 1668-1671, Governor Cendoya frequently complained of a shortage of infantry and reiterated the favorite reason of the governors for Florida's military weakness: "The 300 infantry spaces for the presidio included forty-three missionaries" and various other ineffective types. Cendoya requested that a reported 300-man *dotación* be confirmed and filled with effective military personnel, specifically excluding the Franciscans.[40] English depredations and Governor Cendoya's estimate of less than eighty effective soldiers among the 280 names on his roster as late as March 1672 provided the inspiration for his many requests for military reinforcements.[41] A responding 1673 royal *cédula* ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to increase Florida's annual subsidy to support a total of 393 men, including the religious.[42]

While the Florida missions were attaining their zenith, the concurrent short-sighted military policies led Spain to lose the first round in the struggle with England for the area now comprising the southeastern United States. Spain managed to do this without striking an effective blow. In 1670, reacting quickly to

37. Franciscans of Florida to King, September 1, 1621, AGI 53-2-11, ST.
38. Royal Officials of Florida to King, March 18, 1647, AGI 54-5-14, 105, ST.
39. Royal Cédula to Governor and Royal Officials of Florida, July 26, 1648, AGI 58-1-21,4, ST.
40. Cendoya to Queen, October 31, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 13 A-B, ST.
41. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1671, AGI 58-2-3, 3, ST; March 24, 1672, AGI 58-1-25, 16 A-Abis.B., ST; December 20, 1672, AGI 54-2-3, 7 and 8, ST.
42. Royal Cédula to Viceroy of New Spain, February 28, 1673, AGI 58-1-21, 81, ST; Royal Cédula to Cendoya, February 28, 1673, AGI 58-1-21, 76, ST.

the founding of English Fort St. George just north of Santa Elena, Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega sent a small naval expedition against the intruders. A sudden storm dispersed his fleet, aborting the attack. Spanish failure to reinforce Florida prevented the governor from trying again, thus losing perhaps the best chance to stop the English advance.[43]

In 1680 England's first major attack on Spanish Florida failed to take the mission of Santiago de Ocone on Jekyl Island in Guale, about thirty leagues north of St. Augustine.[44] But it soon resumed the offensive, this time successfully. A spirited defense by Captain Francisco de Fuentes, commanding five Spanish soldiers and forty Christian Indians, could not save Santa Catalina from a well-armed, English-led force of 300.[45] The Spaniards retreated southward, partly because of Indian desertions to the English who lured them with clothing and firearms.[46] English raids, aided by former Spanish-mission Indians, practically finished the missions north of the St. Marys River in 1683. Offering amazingly-little resistance, by 1686 Spain had lost all of Guale in an impotent six-year campaign.[47]

Rising England did not stop its advance in Florida on declining Spain with the conquest of Guale. English-Indian attacks on mission towns in Timucua and Apalachee, beginning in earnest in 1685, resulted in the loss of those provinces too. Carolinian traders spearheaded the English penetration into the lightly-held interior.[48] During the period 1689-1691 a small Spanish block-

43. Cendoya to Queen, October 31, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 13, ST; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 65; Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 10.
44. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 216.
45. Captain Francisco de Fuentes to Governor Cabrera, February 7, 1681, ACI 54-5-11, WL-9, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 216; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 78. Fuentes had equipped sixteen Indians with firearms, and Salazar backed him in that rare Spanish act of issuing guns to Indian warriors. See also Boyd, Smith, and Griffiin, *Here They Once Stood,* 19.
46. Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 24-26; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 216-20. An attempt by Cabrera to relocate Christian Gualeans to safer areas to the south also caused Indian desertions. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 71-73.
47. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 78; Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 25-31.
48. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 177-84, 220-23; Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 6, 7, 34-36; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 8-9, 11. Despite the loyalty and assistance rendered the Spaniards by some Christian Indians, the impact of the Carolinian traders on the frontier natives and the desertion of many Indians to the English invaders lend little support from colonial Florida to the

house in Apalachicola failed to regain a foothold in that western province. Most of the Lower Creek Indians there migrated eastward, closer to the English settlements in Carolina. From their new homeland the Creeks raided Spanish missions in Timucua and Apalachee, enriching Carolinian slave traders.[49] But in April 1696, Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala reported that the often-discussed fort at San Marcos de Apalachee was practically completed.[50] It proved to be poorly located to meet Carolinian attacks that came overland from the north and east rather than from the sea to the south.

Another Spanish effort at this time to strengthen their weakening hold on Florida ended in failure. Making the only major Franciscan attempt to convert South Florida, early in 1696 twenty friars from Spain, reportedly at the request of the natives, tried, without military support, to extend their mission field into the peninsula. An Indian revolt in October forced their withdrawal. Another abortive attempt in Calusa by six missionaries the following year ended Franciscan designs on South Florida.[51]

In 1701 the War of the Spanish Succession broke an uneasy peace between England and Spain. In America the conflict, known as Queen Anne's War, practically eliminated Spain's missions in Florida and reduced her rarely secure grip on the colony to St. Augustine and vicinity. That Spain was able to retain the capital, of course, was due in part to the Castillo de San Marcos and its outlying auxiliary defense lines, which by then

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thesis that "missionaries counteracted foreign influence among their neophytes, deterred them from molesting the interior settlements, and secured their aid in holding back more distant tribes." Bolton, *Wider Horizons*, 125. See Chatelaine, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 24-25, 30, 58. Rather, it was the apparent military, economic, and demographic weakness of Spanish Florida's outlying regions that invited English-Indian attacks on the missions.

49. Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, 35-37; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 8-9; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 182-84.
50. Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala to King, April 15, 1696, in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 21. All subsequent documents cited from this source were translated by Boyd.
51. Crown to Franciscan Provincial and Definitorio of Florida, January 24, 1696, AGI 58-1-22, 355, ST, RI; Torres y Ayala to Crown, February 3, 1697, AGI 54-5-13, 101, ST, RI; Don Martín de Sierralta to Fray Francisco Herrero, June 5, 1698, AGI 58-1-22, 463, ST, RI; Torres y Ayala to Crown, September 19, 1699, AGI 54-5-13, 154, ST, RI.

had become one of the most formidable Spanish military installations in the Indies.[52]

Queen Anne's War began in Florida in May 1702, when a band of Apalachicolan Indians, reputedly led by an Englishman, burned the important Timucuan town of Santa Fé Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda's punitive expedition of 800 Indian and Spanish soldiers was ambushed and decisively defeated by an English-led Creek army. As usual throughout the conflict, the bows and arrows of the Spanish Indians proved to be no match for the enemy-Indian firearms.[53]

In the fall of 1702 Governor James Moore of South Carolina failed to take St. Augustine's *castillo,* and his siege of nearly two months was broken by a Spanish relief armada from Cuba. However, during the campaign Moore's land column wiped out the few remaining missions north of the St. Johns River, leveled St. Augustine, and ravaged the countryside.[54]

Colonel Moore, replaced as governor by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, in January 1704, with fifty whites and 1,000 Indians, captured Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Ayubale, one of the largest mission towns in Apalachee, after a stout defense by Indian converts under Fray Angel de Miranda. The next day Moore's army routed a rescue column of about thirty Spanish soldiers and 400 Apalachee Indians from San Luis de Talimali. The English commander then by-passed fortified San Luis but marched on other Apalachian towns.[55] A few months later Moore informed his governor that "Apalatchee *[sic]* is now reduced."[56] In a second report Moore boasted: "I . . . have killed, and taken as slaves 325 men, and have taken slaves 4,000 women and children. . . . All . . . with the loss of 4 whites and 15 Indians."[57]

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52. Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 71, 81; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 76; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 59, 75, 79, 82-84; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 10, 16, 19.
53. Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda to King, September 30, 1702, in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 36-38; Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 74; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 184-85.
54. Mark F. Boyd, trans., "The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVI (April 1948), 346-52; Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 76-77; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 227-28.
55. Zúñiga y Cerda to King (extract), March 30, 1704; Colonel James Moore to Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson, April 16, 1704 [?]; Moore to Lords Proprietors (extract), April 16, 1704, in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 49, 91-95.
56. Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704 [?], *ibid.,* 93.
57. Moore to Lords Proprietors, April 16, 1704, *ibid.,* 94-95.

Fearing to leave St. Augustine defenseless, Governor Zúñiga did not send a relief column to Apalachee. His account of the battles and those of Spanish eyewitnesses contained incidents not reported by Moore: Many Spaniards and Christian Indians were tortured, mutilated, and burned at the stake. The raiders slashed the bodies of some captives and stuck burning splinters in the wounds. Spaniards charged that Catholic captives were skinned alive. Moore's alleged response to charges of inhumanity was that, as he had only eighty Englishmen and 1,500 Indians in his army, he could not prevent the atrocities.[58] Many of the remaining Christian Indians in Apalachee declared they were tired of waiting for Spanish aid that never came; they did not want to remain with the Spaniards and die. Further wholesale Spanish-Indian desertions followed.[59]

In repeated raids in Apalachee in the years 1701-1704 the estimated number of Spanish Indians killed exceeded 3,000. By the end of that period the Apalachian population allegedly had shrunk from some 8,000 in fourteen villages to approximately 200 scattered in four locations. Governor Zúñiga ordered remaining Spaniards evacuated to St. Augustine. Indians who desired to leave would be welcome in the east. Only the village of Ivitachuco chose to seek Spanish protection.[60] Apalachee, the province of the Franciscans' greatest success in Florida, temporarily became a wilderness. Reportedly, within a year from the evacuation of the region, there were no traces of people, cattle, trails, or villages in that once-flourishing mission field.[61]

The province of Timucua, harrassed by the English since 1685, also suffered the fate of Guale and Apalachee. English-Indian allies devastated the remaining Timucuan missions in 1706. An unknown Carolinian wrote in 1710: "there remains not now, so much as one Village with ten Houses in it, in all Florida, that is subject to the Spaniards; nor have they any Houses or Cattle left, but such as they can protect by the Guns of their Castle of St. Augustine, that alone being now in their Hands,

58. Zúñiga y Cerda to King, February 3, 1704; March 30, 1704 (extract); Manuel Solana, Deputy of Apalachee, to Zúñiga, July 8, 1704; Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the details of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705, *ibid.,* 48-54, 74-82.
59. Solana to Zúñiga y Cerda, July 8, 1704, *ibid.,* 54.
60. "[Record of] Council of War, San Agustín, July 13, 1704," *ibid.,* 56-58.
61. Admiral Landeche to Viceroy, August 11, 1705, *ibid.,* 82-84.

and which is continually infested by the perpetual Incursions of the Indians, subject to this Province."[62]

Florida Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez, successor to Zúñiga, in 1706 or 1707 organized a company of cavalry to protect Spanish work details outside St. Augustine and the 300 Christian Indians camped nearby from English-led raids. Córcoles estimated from 10,000 to 20,000 Indians had been carried into slavery by the English by 1708.[63] The ruthless Carolinian neighbors and their Indian allies had dealt a mortal blow to the Spanish missions of Florida, indeed to the entire colony. Even the skeleton of their once-impressive mission chain– a few tiny Indian settlements in the shadow of San Marcos at St. Augustine – would be ravaged and vanish before little more than fifty years would pass.[64]

Spanish inability to match English trade goods nullified most of the former's attempts to gain new Indian allies. Despite Indian requests for aid and protection against the English, the Spaniards could not deliver promised firearms and food, and thus they lost their opportunities for alliances which could have helped to restore Spanish Florida. Also, at a time when the distraught colony needed soldiers more than missionaries, the Crown continued abortive efforts to strengthen Florida by trying to rebuild the frontier mission system with insufficient military protection.[65]

In 1762 Spain sided with France and Austria against England and Prussia in the Seven Years' War which had erupted in 1756. A heavily-reinforced bastion at St. Augustine, and a seemingly firm new alliance with former Indian antagonists, had brought Spanish Florida to a new pinnacle of military power. Ironically, at this time Spain handed the colony to England without a contest. The English had captured Havana in 1762, and Charles III

62. Crane, *Southern Frontier, 1670-1732,* 81.
63. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to King, January 14, 1708, in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 90. See also Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 76.
64. Geiger, "Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans," 9; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 76-83.
65. TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 198-226; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 81-82; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 198-200, 231-34; Mark F. Boyd, "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVIII (July 1949), 1-27; "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expedition of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1717 and 1718," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXI (October 1952), 109-39.

by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 ceded Florida to England in exchange for the Cuban port.[66]

After strategic Florida seemed secure from foreign encroachment, conversion of the Indians overshadowed hard military realities. Although the missions helped to stabilize areas in which they were located, and seemed to be a relatively easy and inexpensive way to extend and maintain Spanish influence and authority over the frontier, they failed every major challenge to their rule. They neither prevented nor quelled numerous Indian rebellions nor attacks by neighboring pagans. Spanish soldiers, sometimes, aided by allied Indians, had to put down revolts and restore order to enable the friars to resume mission operations disrupted by the conflicts. The Indian uprisings reinforced the governors' contention that colonial security and sustained progress of the evangelical program depended upon sufficient military power. Above all, the mission system proved to be of no help in meeting the supreme test of the English conquest of the three main provinces of Florida.

The Spanish fantasy of considering the missionaries to be serving as soldiers defending the frontiers, in the face of contrary evidence, led to the ineffective substitution of Franciscan missions for properly-manned-and-located military garrisons. Spain's seeming reliance on the missions to control and defend the frontiers of Florida surely helped to divert it from establishing realistic defenses in the strategic colony.

Even when the Crown tardily realized the seriousness of the English designs and began to temper religious priorities with military considerations, it concentrated on that never-conquered, but immobile stone bastion, the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine, neglecting and fatally weakening the frontier provinces. The *castillo,* of course, protected nothing but its own garrison and the townspeople sheltered within its walls. For example, it did not prevent the sack of St. Augustine by Moore in 1702, nor did it prevent the English conquest of far-away Guale and Apalachee and nearby Timucua. Even the concept of its own impregnability did not stand up. Moore's siege of the bastion, for instance, was lifted by the timely arrival of a relief expedition

66. Matter, "Spanish Missions of Florida," 305-07; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 154-57, 223-35; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 82-83; Sweett and Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida,* 47.

from Cuba, averting the starvation of the defending, or entrapped, garrison. However, the fortress did enable the Spaniards to retain a toehold in Florida by providing them a strong refuge until help arrived.

Despite Franciscan protests, an adequate defense of Florida depended upon strong, properly-deployed-and-supported mobile Spanish military contingents and armed, trained Indian allies. If Spain was unable or unwilling to provide such forces to relatively-unimportant Florida on the edge of its empire, it should have carried out at least one of the numerous plans for colonizing the region if it desired to hold it. Settlement of the colony could have provided a significant, largely self-sufficient militia to reinforce their small nuclei of professional soldiers and Indian allies– the military policy successfully employed by their victorious English opponents. The Spanish failure to settle and develop Florida was the major contribution to their inability to contain or defeat the English aggression.

Effective Franciscan opposition to adequate military security and to the settlement of Florida significantly fostered the colony's fatal military and economic weakness.[67] Preoccupied with their evangelical work, the friars shortsightedly obstructed the development of a strong colony. The Franciscan position, echoed by a vacillating Crown, led to the downfall of their own mission sys-

67. Though some of the early Franciscans, and at least one late in the seventeenth century, evidenced interest in Spanish colonists settling Florida, the opposition of many friars to the establishment of Spanish agricultural enterprises in the colony counters Bolton's contention that missions and presidios were "nuclei around which ranchers settled." Neither did effective Franciscan opposition to an adequate military posture in Florida firmly support Bolton's premise that "to afford protection for missionaries and mission Indians, as well as to hold the frontier against savages and foreigners, presidios, or garrisons, were established near by [the missions]" or that generally the friars demanded military aid and objected only to "unsuitable soldiers." Nor did the Florida story confirm the thesis that missions "served also as a means of defense of the king's domains" or that they "designedly or incidentally" promoted frontier occupation. See Bolton, *Wider Horizons*, 82-83, 119, 124, 130-31, 147. See also Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 146, 151-53, 244-46; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 174-75, 219; Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, WL-7, trans. by Lawson, SAHS; June 16, 1664, AGI 54-5-18, 64, ST; Royal Cédula to Royal Officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, ST; "*Residencia* by Governor Rebolledo of Governor Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, and other officials," 1656, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 11 (new *legajo* division 155B), ST; Governor Rebolledo to King, October 18, 1657, AGI 54-5-18, 52, ST; October 18, 1657, AGI 58-1-26, 4. ST.

tem and the loss of Florida. Unable to prevent or defeat periodic Indian uprisings, and helpless against savage English-Indian incursions, the Florida missions failed to support the thesis that missions were an effective instrument of frontier defense.[68] Did unprotected, militarily-challenged mission systems elsewhere fare any better?

68. Bolton, *Wider Horizons*, 80-84, 109-10, 115-19, 123-28, 130-31, 147.

J. F. B. MARSHALL: A NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY AGENT IN POST-WAR FLORIDA, 1867

by PATRICIA P. CLARK*

NEAR THE END OF HIS tour of Florida as agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company in early 1867, General James Fowle Baldwin Marshall, former resident of Honolulu and more recently paymaster general of Massachusetts troops, wrote to his wartime commander, Governor John Andrew: "I am tempted by the prospect of usefulness & success, as well as by my long tropical experience to join the 'Yankee horde' of reconstructionists, & become a Floridian."[1] This "Yankee horde" was enticed to postwar Florida not only by the climate, already fabled throughout the North as beneficial for consumptives and others ailing with respiratory diseases, but also by economic opportunities in unoccupied land and undeveloped natural resources. In addition to some 20,000,000 acres of public lands which had been opened to entry after the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, there were unclaimed state and railroad lands, as well as confiscated Confederate properties, although some of these having been sold under the Direct Tax Law were tied up in litigation with previous owners when the war was over. Speculation concerning Florida settlements had actually started early in the war, following military occupation of the coasts of South Carolina and Florida, and gained momentum after peace was concluded. To assist prospective settlers, invite northern investors, and induce concessions from Florida property holders, a number of land and emigrant aid companies mushroomed. Among these was the New England Emigrant Aid Company, whose efforts in Kansas have been widely chronicled, but whose plans for an organized emigration to Florida are somewhat less known.

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1. Marshall to John Andrew, March 21 [2], 1867, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

The company, chartered initially in 1854 by the Massachusetts legislature, had been formed as a joint-stock venture to infuse native New Englanders upon Kansas soil, thus insuring the admission of a free state while at the same time earning a profit for its investors. Only mildly successful in achieving its first purpose, it had singularly failed to live up to its financial expectations. However, the company did acquire a sizable, although hardly profitable, investment in two hotels, several mills, and a newspaper. Those who migrated under the company's auspices had been given no pecuniary aid, but they generally received a reduction in travel fares, the advantages and convenience of a conducted group, and assistance with temporary housing and employment. But poor management, accompanied by the depression of 1857, a drought, and the loss of both initial investors and the force of its moral crusade, had contributed to the lack of financial success. Nevertheless, when the war came the directors of the company kept the organizational structure intact, anticipating a continuation of its colonizing activities as soon as the military situation warranted.[2]

Throughout 1862 and 1863 company minutes recorded the interest in southern colonies, particularly, in Florida, including the appointment of a special committee and an appeal to the federal government for support. In June 1862 the directors considered a "plan or system for Military Colonies in Insurrectionary states" and endorsed a resolution presented in Congress urging the enlistment of 20,000 volunteers to serve in Florida where they would be mustered out at the end of nine-months' service with encouragement to settle in the state. During that same year a company circular designed to persuade law-makers to open confiscated Confederate lands to pre-emption by northern colonists was prepared, but it failed to create any significant

2. For a review of the New England Emigrant Aid Company's activities; see Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, 1954). The Florida enterprise is described in Chapter XIV. For northern economic influence in Florida during and after the war, see George Winston Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in. Florida, 1862-1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (October 1948), 99-130; XXVII (January 1949 260-99 (for the NEEA Company in particular, see pp. 286-87, 295-96), and Robert IL. Clarke, "Northern Plans for the Economic Invasion of Florida, 1862-1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (April 1950), 262-70.

support.[3] Then, in May 1863, following a report to the directors that Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase was "favorably inclined to some course by which the Co'y should be employed in aiding settlements in some of the rebellious states," Edward Everett Hale, a Unitarian minister who was the company's chief publicist and chairman of the committee on Florida, journeyed to Washington to look into the possibility of government aid and to ferret out persons with intimate knowledge of the state's resources. Encouraged by the prospects, he reported to the board in February 1864, pointing out the ease with which Florida could be made a free state and suggesting that an investigative group of perhaps fifty or more visit there in the spring. Though favorably received, this report was never implemented, and enthusiasm for the undertaking precipitously waned. During 1864 the Florida issue was all but ignored; the board was reorganized and other emigration schemes were pursued.[4] The next year, except for two meetings in the summer to consider an invitation to cooperate in southern colonization with the United States Mutual Protection Society, represented by Charles A. Stevens, a quorum was seldom convened. The executive committee had ceased to function in 1862, and after August 1865 there were no meetings of the board until October 1866. But in this latter month, a sudden spate of interest and activity, punctuated with weekly meetings, again sparked the seemingly dormant Florida movement.[5] Most of

3. Minutes, Records of Annual Meetings of Stockholders, Board of Trustees and Executive Committee, June 3, 1862 to May 26, 1863, New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, 1854-1909, microfilm edition, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, roll 7 (hereinafter cited as NEEACP and appropriate roll number); Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 275. The soldier-colonizer idea was advanced by sometime Congressman Eli Thayer, one of the founders of NEEA Company who was no longer an active member. While receiving favorable attention in the House Committee on Military Affairs in January 1863, the proposal apparently never reached the floor. *House Reports*, 37th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 5, pp. 1-6; Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," 113-30.

4. Board Minutes, May 26, November 24, 1863, February 23, May 24, 1864, NEEACP roll 7; Edward E. Hale to Lyman D. Stickney, September 23, 1863, NEEACP roll 4; September 30, 1863, NEEACP roll 2. Plans to aid European emigrants and to sponsor a ship load of "surplus" females from New England to Oregon were matters of discussion. See Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 274, 275-76; Board Minutes, May 24-December 5, 1864, NEEACP roll 7.

5. Board Minutes, July 19, August 31, 1865; October 25, November 5,

the urgency lay in the announced sale of lands along the line of the Florida Railroad.

The Florida Railroad, a 155-mile trans-peninsular line completed in 1861, had been severely damaged by the war. Its terminal facilities at Fernandina and Cedar Key, as well as most of its bridges, had been destroyed and much of its track removed or in sad state of repair. Defaulting in its interest payments to both the state's Internal Improvement Fund and to bondholders, and saddled with debts to other creditors, the road was ordered sold by the state trustees at public auction on November 1, 1866. The purchasers, the company's prewar northern investors, hoped by the sale to liquidate the debt and pay off bondholders at a reduced rate of twenty cents on the dollar. Sections of land along the road, donated earlier by state and federal governments, were also mortgaged and in the hands of bondholders, including the company owners, or were still controlled by the Internal Improvement Fund's trustees. Edward N. Dickerson, the new president and himself a prewar investor, wrote the Emigrant Aid Company that much of this land would probably be available at reasonable rates, from $2.50 for Trustees' land near the road to as low as "25 cts" or "30 to 70 cts" per acre with bonds. So, from the date of the sale of the railroad until mid-summer of the next year, the disposal of these lands was considered imminent.[6]

For any major undertaking such as the Florida venture would entail, unfortunately, the Emigrant Aid Company directors were faced with a depleted treasury. The sale of the company's Kansas properties in 1862 had been only sufficient to settle accounts and keep the company barely solvent. However, one possible source of funds, a legacy from the Kansas operations, remained. This was a claim of $25,000, plus interest, against the government for the destruction of the company's Free State Hotel, which had been razed by order of a United States deputy

12, 14, 17, 21, 27, 1866, NEEACP roll 7. Several new Floridians, including H. B. Scott and C. B. Wilder, attended the November meetings giving personal testimony as to Florida's attractions for Northerners. Board Minutes, November 12, 14, 1866, NEEACP roll 7.

6. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974) 109-10, 114-16; Board Minutes, November 17, December 4, 11, 1866, NEEACP roll 7; E. N. Dickerson to T. B. Forbush, December 1 & [undated], 1866, NEEACP roll 4; J. K. Roberts to Forbush, March 27, April 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

marshal and a territorial sheriff during the sack of Lawrence on May 21, 1856. Petitioning Congress in early 1863, and dispatching the company secretary, Thomas H. Webb, to Washington to lobby for its passage, the memorial suggested that the money would be used for encouraging emigration to make Florida a loyal state. Specifically, the funds would be used for assisting in travel costs, locating good lands, and "erecting such works as sawmills, hotels, grist-mills, church buildings and school buildings." In short, the company's communities would be modeled after its Kansas settlements. With this petition still in abeyance, the board voted to raise a $3,000 subscription to reopen the Boston office, closed since 1860, and to send an agent to Florida.

To assume charge of the office and prepare and send out information in response to inquiries, the company hired a young colleague of Hale's, the Reverend Trowbridge B. Forbush, minister of the Roxbury Unitarian Society, who also became secretary following the death of T. H. Webb.[7]

The agent, James Fowle Baldwin Marshall, who volunteered for the Florida assignment, was elected to the board of directors in November 1866. A native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1818, the son of banker Thomas Marshall and Sophia Kendal Marshall, he had been given the usual academic preparation for a son of a prosperous New England family. He had briefly attended Harvard before poor eyesight forced his withdrawal from school. For the next three years he clerked in a Boston dry-goods house. Still troubled by eye difficulties which failed to respond to treatment, he was advised by physicians to seek a warmer climate. Marshall decided upon a commercial career in Hawaii. Leaving Boston in the fall of 1838, he arrived in Honolulu the following spring. He was first in partnership with Francis Johnson, and after 1843, with Charles Brewer and Company, a whalers' supply house and one of the most successful trading firms in the islands.[8]

7. Board Minutes, May 26, 1863; October 25, November 5, 21, 1866; January 9, 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 37th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 29, pp. 1-28.
8. Walter L. Wright, Jr., "James Fowle Baldwin Marshall," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XII, 312-13; John C. Rand, ed., *One of a Thousand: A Series of Biographical Sketches of One Thousand Representative Men Resident in the Com-*

It was this status as an American merchant which equipped him for a secret mission for King Kamehameha, after an annexation coup engineered by a British admiral, Lord George Paulet, and a scheming Scottish consul, Alexander Simpson, forced the Hawaiian monarch to recognize their provisional claims in the name of Great Britain. With credentials copied from those issued to John Adams as first American minister to the Court of St. James, Marshall sailed for England in March 1843, posing as a commercial agent to avoid detection by the British "protectors." His traveling companion, the erstwhile consul, was sent on a similar errand. At Vera Cruz, Mexico, the two agents parted, the unsuspecting Simpson heading directly for England, while Marshall journeyed by way of New Orleans to Washington where he delivered dispatches from the American consul to Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Reaching New York too late for the Liverpool packet, he decided to go on to Boston for a brief visit with his parents and fiancée. He then embarked on the first available steamer and arrived in London, June 30, to find that Simpson had departed the week before. Then, as "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary," Marshall joined two other emissaries who had preceded him to Europe in discussions with Lord Aberdeen. Although the British foreign office had planned to repudiate Lord Paulet's activities, formal recognition of Hawaii's independence by both England and France was not proclaimed until after Marshall left London in August, but before he was back in Honolulu. An embittered Simpson, meanwhile, retired to his native Scotland after severely denouncing the British government for letting the prize slip from the grasp he had devised and for "putting more faith in the representations of a Yankee shopkeeper than in those of a British subject."[9]

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monwealth of Massachusetts, A.D. 1888-'89 (Boston, 1890), 396-97; *Addresses in Memory of James Fowle Baldwin Marshall and Martha Twycross Marshall delivered at Channing Hall, Boston, May 18, 1891* (Boston, 1891), 8, 11.

9. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols. (Honolulu, 1923-1967), I, 196, 217-21; J. F. B. Marshall, "An Unpublished Chapter of Hawaiian History," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXVII (September 1883), 511-20. Marshall returned to Hawaii with his bride, the former Eunice Hooper of Mobile, Alabama. Two years after her death in 1846, again in Boston, he married Mary A. T. Johnson (1824-1891). Their arrival in Honolulu in 1849 coincided with the early

Dual citizenship, a reward for this diplomatic service, enabled Marshall to serve first as a commissioner to help frame the Hawaiian Constitution of 1851 and subsequently, for four years, as a member of the island legislature, where he distinguished himself as a sponsor of native rights and land reform. In 1850 he purchased an interest in the fledgling Lihue Sugar Plantation on the Island of Kuai and later took over the management of the farm. He also briefly experimented in silk worm culture. Because of his interest in the islands' agriculture, he was a founding member, vice-president, and then president of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.[10]

In 1859 Marshall returned to Massachusetts, settling in Westboro, with the hope of promoting American ties with Hawaii. As early as 1855 he had been endorsing a move for a reciprocity treaty. By 1862, believing himself qualified, he unsuccessfully sought a diplomatic post, first as United States Commissioner to Honolulu and later in 1867 as minister. Even though he failed to receive an appointment, Marshall had impressed Lincoln during a personal interview in 1862 with his knowledge and insight of the Sandwich Islands. Continuing his interest in Hawaii, with other former residents and those having investments in the islands, Marshall founded the Hawaiian Club of Boston, serving as its vice-president, president, and main lobbyist for the Reciprocity Treaty of 1867. He lobbied for the treaty instead of sponsoring outright annexation, which he personally favored, because he knew the native ruler would oppose such a move.[11]

With the beginning of recruitment in the Civil War, Marshall raised Company K of the 13th Regiment of Massachusetts

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news of the gold rush in California. After the Brewer Company closed its retail establishment in Hawaii and became an outfitter for miners, Marshall visited San Francisco and described events there. James F. B. Marshall, "Three Gold Stories," *Century Magazine,* XLI (March 1891), 783-87.

10. Agnes C. Conrad, Hawaii state archivist, to author, June 8, 1971; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* I, 324-25, 328; Merze Tate, *Hawaii: Reciprocity or Annexation* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1968), 22-23, 58-62.
11. Tate, *Hawaii,* 51, 58-60, 115; Lincoln to William H. Seward, March 7, July 13, 1862, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* 9 vols. (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953-1955), V, 147, VIII, 495; Marshall to Seward, March 3, 1862, Records of the Department of State, Applications, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Volunteers and throughout the conflict made periodic visits to the regiment at the front. In 1862, while visiting the regiment, he was elected as Westboro's representative to the lower house of the Massachusetts "war legislature." In January 1864, after the legislature authorized bounty payments, Governor Andrew appointed him to the paymaster's office, but in May Marshall took a leave of absence and, accompanied by his wife, entered the service of the Sanitary Commission. With a special relief corps the Marshalls followed Grant's army through the Virginia campaigns from the Wilderness to City Point, tending to sick and wounded, as they were often in advance of medical units in reaching the field. Rejoining the governor's staff as brigadier general and paymaster general, he reorganized the paymaster bureau, and remained as its head until his mission to Florida.[12]

On the eve of his departure Marshall was given instructions drafted by Vice-President Hale and President John Murray Forbes, the railroad promoter, philanthropist, and descendant of Florida pioneers. As agent, Marshall was encouraged to forward his general impressions, those which could be shown to prospective emigrants "without violating any confidences as to the sources" of the information, to Forbush for the office files. He was to send Hale his more private and confidential observations about his contacts with individuals and companies owning land for sale and what inducements they might offer to settlers. For his services Marshall would be reimbursed for expenses and receive $200 a month in salary. Though his movements were left to his own discretion, he was directed to search out and report on available land "at moderate rates," principally along the transportation routes but specifically along the Florida Railroad, as well as check on public lands offered through the state and federal land offices; to observe the social climate for Floridian acceptance of Northerners, especially noting whether "a ball-proof jacket and an India rubber neck are prerequisite for Northern Settlers"; to comment on weather conditions, transportation facilities, and the region's general healthfulness; and to report on economic opportunities, especially in regard to "cotton Lumber & Naval stores," and on labor conditions

12. Rand, *One of a Thousand,* 397; *Addresses in Memory,* 16-25.

generally, including the prospects of obtaining "hired labor reasonably cheap." But always the emphasis was on "the small farmer and mechanic," the "poorer class of settlers," and those "who go not to make their fortunes but to get their living by work," as well as those "whose lives will be saved or prolonged by the move" to an area with a "fine winter climate, & a good summer one."[13]

Marshall would spend three months in Florida. He left New York on December 18, 1866, as requested in his letter of instructions. Three days later he arrived in Savannah where he stayed overnight before boarding a steamer for Jacksonville which became his headquarters. His itinerary took him mostly through the northern and north-central parts of the state, with his early tours encompassing Fernandina, Waldo, and Baldwin. On December 31 he traveled by buggy to Newnansville and spent New Year's day in Gainesville. During the early part of January 1867 he was in Tallahassee, and the last two weeks of the month he sailed on the St. Johns, stopping at Enterprise and Palatka. New Smyrna and Port Orange, where he found the colonies, both white and black, in "a critical condition," were his southernmost points on the east coast. In February he toured mid-Florida, where, after a steamer trip up the St. Johns and the Ocklawaha rivers to Silver Springs, he made his way by mule wagon to Ocala, "a hot bed of secession, being mostly settled by emigration from S. C." so that "an officer of Gov. Andrews staff would have needed an iron clad suit & india rubberneck to have ventured" there a year or so earlier.[14]

Whether by steamer, railroad, buggy, mule wagon, or horseback, travel in Florida, Marshall concluded, was extremely primitive and very unaccommodating. Of the railroad, he complained: "I can safely say that in all my journeying in various countries, I never saw the art of making travellers uncomfortable carried to such perfection as in Florida." This discomfort was accompanied by considerable expense, for no matter what the conveyance

13. E. E. Hale and J. M. Forbes to Marshall, December 12, 1866, NEEACP roll 4. Forbes had only recently joined the board, but he had been involved in the Port Royal, South Carolina, experiment and was later active in efforts to raise funds for the Republican party in the South, an activity in which he engaged the New England Emigrant Aid Company's efforts. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 284.
14. Marshall to Hale, February 9, 1867; Marshall to T. B. Forbush, February 21, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

the cost seemed excessive. These touring difficulties were matched by the scarcity of good lodgings and dining facilities. The best he found were in the St. Johns River area, but even there he heard "great complaints of the want of hotels" similar to those in the North. By the time he left Florida, one of his major recommendations was for the construction of resorts and lodgings which "would be well supported, (if well kept)."[15]

His comments on the social climate were mixed. He stayed generally within the major lines of communication where he found more congeniality, since most Northerners tended to secure homesites along rivers and railroads. As to the average Floridian, Marshall saw "little if any heartfelt loyalty to the Government among those who took an active part in the rebellion," and he feared that "the true Union men" who were "politically and socially ostracized" would need continued protection from the federal government. On the other hand, he observed that "all thinking men in the state," even the "most ardent secessionists," desired to see "an influx of northern labor, capital, & enterprise." This assessment included the governor who was "ready to welcome with open arms *abolitionists* and all others who would aid in settling and developing the resources of the state." On another occasion, Marshall observed that with the large number of loyalists already in Florida only a small number emigrating from the North would be needed to redeem the state.[16]

Somewhat ambivalent also were his views as to the suitability of the land. In much of Florida Marshall discovered that the soil was poor, but he was convinced that with proper cultivation its yield would be comparable to land elsewhere. In those areas already settled by Northerners, he was disappointed in the dearth of purchasable tracts large enough for the communities envisioned by the company's directors. Commenting that "most of the good lands are in private hands for which large prices are asked," he cited the northern mania for orange groves as the cause for the high price of properties along the St. Johns. He was impressed with the possibilities of truck gardening around

15. Marshall to Forbush, January 5, 26, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.
16. Marshall to Forbush, January 9, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

Jacksonville, and he felt that "good Cotton lands both wild & cultivated [could] be had at prices $2 [to] $10 per acre" in Alachua, Levy, and Marion counties. These, however, were interior counties, areas away from easy access to transportation and the general flow of northern immigrants, which would be a serious matter for company colonists. Neither the Homestead Act of 1862 nor the so-called Southern Homestead Bill of 1866 were applicable to the company's colonial scheme, and state and railroad lands were largely inaccessible, although the railroads were anxious to welcome northern settlers and willing to guarantee a reduction in fares.[17]

The best of the lands still available on the Florida Railroad, Marshall was told, were at Archer below Gainesville, but, in general, he believed that the railroad's lands were of average to poor quality, either covered with "an undergrowth of the saw palmetto" or were too "low & would mostly require surface draining." He also learned that out of the $800,000 worth of land bonds, the railroad actually controlled only about $200,000 and the only way to obtain a tract was to find a bondholder willing to sell, though most were "expecting to purchase land with [their bonds] at the coming sale." Lands along other railroad lines were similarly mortgaged. He checked into the property adjacent to the prospective Florida Canal, a project chartered but never constructed, and forwarded to Forbush the informal prospectus of its planner, former tax commissioner Lyman D. Stickney.[18]

Although he did not get to South Florida– the "speediest & cheapest route from [Jacksonville] to Miami would be to go to N. Y. & thence to Key West"– through contact with William H. Gleason, the South Florida developer who had a conditional grant of state lands, Marshall decided that "tropical Florida offers a most attractive & profitable field for new settlers," particularly in the cultivation of sugar, and he believed Gleason could offer attractive inducements. From the United States land agent he

17. Marshall to Forbush, December 29, 1866, January 5, 9, 26, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Hale, February 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
18. Marshall to Hale, January 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Hale, February 9, 13, 1867; Marshall to Forbush, February 18, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

learned there were "very fine lands" on the Withlacoochee River in Sumter and Hernando counties which were "healthy & rich, suited for oranges or cane growing." Where there were timber and naval stores, the lands were located "too far from the R.R. to pay for hauling at present." Near Ocala he discovered "the best land" he had seen in Florida which was "better adapted to farming purposes" than even the rich lands of Alachua, because "cotton, corn, cane, oranges etc equally thrive & there is good grazing for Cattle & sheep." But tracts which might be for sale were expensive and too far from the railroad until the track was finished through Ocala.[19]

The region was healthy, Marshall reported, except in some newly-opened areas where malaria was prevalent. The weather, "especially so for those inclined to pulmonary complaints," was probably the best in the world, though the cold was "more keenly felt" because the people were "unprepared for it and their houses generally ill-provided with facilities for heating."[20]

Labor costs were high and workers in short supply. While there was considerable reluctance on the part of the former slaves to make contracts, those who did obtained higher wages than paid elsewhere in the South. Marshall believed the worker shortage would be eased by the increased Negro migration from neighboring states. Northerners, he reported, were generally pleased with the freedmen as workers, finding that they "work on the average as well as laborers at the North." The Southerner, on the other hand, had "no faith in the labor of freedmen, probably because he cannot adapt himself to the changed order of things and does not manage them properly." For farmers of small means, Marshall predicted success in Florida if they could lease at small risk and thereby gain experience before purchasing; for mechanics, he saw increasing opportunities be-

19. Marshall to Hale, January 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Forbush, February 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. Gleason had a contract with the American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company of New York. Before this company folded in July 1867, President Charles A. Stevens, formerly with the U. S. Mutual Aid Society, was again seeking the New England Emigrant Aid Company's cooperation. After the New York company's demise, Forbush unsuccessfully contacted Gleason for inducements. C. A. Stevens to R. P. Waters, March 5, 1867, Forbush to (Gleason, July 5, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Board Minutes, March 6, 1867, NEEACP roll 7.

20. Marshall to Forbush, December 29, 1866, NEEACP roll 4.

cause of the great demand for their skills.[21] In many of his letters he detailed the economics of conducting a farming operation with limited capital.

Mid-way during his tour Marshall received additional instructions from Hale in regard to the purchase of the *Florida Times*, a Union paper published in Jacksonville, which Marshall had reported was "dragging along a feeble existence" and would go defunct, unless new life was "infused into it." He was encouraged to enter into negotiations with the owners. When efforts to procure the *Times* were unsuccessful, the company ultimately, but reluctantly, purchased the *Florida Union*.[22]

On March 6, 1867, he left Florida, traveling back the same route he had taken in December, "fully satisfied of the superior advantages which Florida [had] to offer Northern settlers."[23] Back in Boston where he reported to the board at its March 16 meeting, he found no organized emigration imminent nor had the acute shortage of funds been alleviated by new subscriptions. In February, while Marshall was still in Florida, the directors had sought authorization from the Massachusetts legislature to issue a new preferred stock with which they expected to raise the money to purchase a large tract of land, if a suitable one could be found. This arrangement, deviating as it did from their Kansas operation, called for the resale of the larger tract into smaller units to actual settlers, and, in promising some likelihood of a financial gain by the transaction, should the purchaser wish to relinquish his land, would provide an additional incentive. With more hope than assurance that the stock could be exchanged for land at reasonable rates, the executive committee, which now included Marshall, printed a circular letter in May, advising prospective emigrants of a projected colony, probably on the St. Johns. Five shares of the new stock

21. *Ibid.*; Marshall to Forbush, February 23, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
22. Marshall to Hale, January 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Hale to Marshall, February 8, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. When Edward M. Cheney, an unpaid agent who followed Marshall to Florida, also failed to purchase the *Times* and bought the *Union* instead without prior consultation with company directors, he found immediate approval and needed financial assistance temporarily withheld. Board Minutes, April 27, 1867, Executive Committee Minutes, May 17, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; Hale to Cheney, May 17, 24, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 279-80.
23. Marshall to Forbush, January 11, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

at $100 per share would entitle the purchaser, at rates of $5.00 to $10.00 an acre, to a homestead of fifty to 100 acres. If twenty families could be found the company would be responsible for the erection of a school and church. An October departure date was suggested for the first migration, but the response in terms of monetary pledges, even when extended in June to non-settlers on an investment basis, was meagre.[24]

In July, failing to realize the necessary revenue for even a small colonizing venture, the board decided that $25,000 would have to be subscribed by the end of August from "well-known gentlemen of means" who were "friends of the company," otherwise operations should be closed altogether by October 1. At this point Forbes, one of those "gentlemen of means," who, having already generously contributed to the company's treasury, was becoming disenchanted with the whole plantation scheme and attempted to resign as president, a position he had only reluctantly accepted earlier in the month. He suggested a structural revision with Marshall as head, either as resident-agent in Florida, or in Boston, with a salary and a percentage of the still hoped-for profits. But such a reorganization was never realized, and in September, after Marshall gave a negative report on efforts to confer with his Florida contacts about possible propositions and alternatives, including the exchange of company stock for property, the final decision to phase out all but a minimal information and referral service was made. After March 1868, Marshall, taking over as secretary and treasurer, continued to handle correspondence for another two years.[25]

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24. The new stock plan initially was to raise funds for southern emigration and to reorganize company operations. By May the executive committee advanced a land-stock exchange proposal, which was approved, and on June 5, 1867, Marshall presented the final plan which included a land guarantee for both colonists and non-colonists as a security on their subscriptions. Minutes, special stockholders' meetings, March 6, 13, 1867; Board Minutes, January 30-March 20, June 5, 1867; Executive Committee Minutes, April 29, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; printed circular, May 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

25. Board Minutes, July 6, 11, September 5, 11, 1867; March 3, 1868, NEEACP roll 7; Forbush to Hale, February 16, 27, April 8, July 6, August 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; J. M. Forbes to Hale, August [16], September 3, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Forbush to Hale, August 20, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. In the Forbes plan of reorganization, Marshall would have received an annual salary of $1,500 and one-fifth of any profits over six per cent. The treasurer's report, when the Florida enterprise folded in October, showed that although $5,194.78 had been collected

Failure of the Florida emigration scheme can be attributed to a number of causes incidental to Reconstruction and external to the company's management. But to Marshall, who drafted the 1868 annual report, the movement miscarried because of the "difficulty in selecting a large tract that would meet the view of a sufficient number of settlers" and the "unsettled state of political affairs caused by the opposition of the President [Johnson] to the [congressional] reconstruction policy." Also discouraging to northern businessmen were the "unfortunate results of investments of Northern Capitalists in cotton plantations" during a bad crop year and the inflationary land values.[26] Less than four months after Marshall had toured Florida, the board was advised that while the company's plan was still feasible the number of new settlers on the St. Johns River had doubled during the past year with a corresponding rise in the cost of land. From the fairly large number of prospective emigrants who had inquired about the Florida plans, most were unable or unwilling to commit themselves when contacted about an October departure date. Of those who seemed ready to go, too few had the financial resources with which to purchase stock and help buttress the company's sagging treasury. Friends of previous crusades were tried and found wanting. There was no grand cause to fulfill as there had been in Kansas, and northern speculators sought investment returns elsewhere.[27]

Yet, with all this negativism, there was nonetheless a positive side to the company's enterprise. Because of its avid promotion of Florida's attractions, if the numerous letters in response to these efforts is any indication, some who were already interested in vacating their New England homesteads for a warmer climate were encouraged to head for Florida.[28] The twenty-page

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for the enterprise, the books failed to balance with expenses in excess of revenue by $466.95. Hale raised most of the deficit. While handling the company's business Marshall received $50.00 a year from money paid as interest on the loan which established the *Florida Union*. Forbes to Hale, September 8, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Board Minutes, September 11, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 282-84.

26. Secretary's Report for 1868, NEEACP roll 5.
27. J. M. Forbes to Hale, September 3, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Forbush to Hale, September 6, 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; C. B. Wilder to Forbush, February 8, 1867; M. A. Williams to Marshall, July 25, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
28. One of these, J. S. Adams, of Burlington, Vermont, former secretary of

pamphlet, *Florida: The Advantages and Inducements Which It Offers to Immigrants*, compiled by Secretary Forbush and based largely on Marshall's observations, but augmented by other Florida correspondents, was so widely disseminated that it went through two printings. But, perhaps the most concrete accomplishment in which the company held some responsibility, albeit initially with reluctance, was the establishment of a loyal, Republican newspaper, the *Florida Union*, a journal destined to become one of the most influential organs in the state.[29]

As for Marshall, after the colonization plan aborted he remained in Boston until 1869, when he joined the faculty of the newly-established Hampton Institute for Negroes and Indians in Virginia. The Institute's founder-president, General Samuel C. Armstrong, had lived in Hawaii and as a boy attended Sunday School classes taught by Marshall. As treasurer, acting-assistant principal, and bookkeeping instructor, Marshall served at Hampton until 1884 when, threatened with blindness, he was forced to retire. While at Hampton, he befriended a young student, Booker T. Washington, and became an advisor for Tuskegee Institute when it opened in Alabama. Besides friendly advice, Marshall loaned Washington the money to make the initial payment on the farm purchased for the school, helped him obtain books and teachers, a printing press and a saw mill, and advanced funds, for which the older man himself had to borrow, to set up brick works for trainees. Out of gratitude for this patronage, the Washingtons named their first child Portia Marshall Washington.[30]

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the Vermont Board of Education, subscribed $100 in June 1867. He apparently emigrated on his own and subsequently became Florida's Commissioner of Immigration. Hale credited Marshall after his death with directing "three or four thousand" men and women from Minnesota to Florida after a "fuel famine." However, a review of the 1870 census fails to substantiate such claims. Rowland E. Robinson, *Vermont: A Study of Independence* (Boston, 1892), 311; J. S. Adams to E. E. Hale, April 23, June 1, 1867; Adams to T. B. Forbush, December 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Secretary's Report for 1868, NEEACP roll 5; *Addresses in Memory*, 39.

29. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 253-84. The pamphlet was first printed in July 1867; by October over 600 of the 1,000 copies had been distributed. In the 1868 printing it was necessary to explain in a preface that the company had neither land to sell nor colonies.

30. "The Story of My Life and Work," "Hampton Catalog, 1874-75," Washington to Marshall, July [June] 25, June 29, July 5, 7, 1881, Marshall to Washington, July 7, 9, 1881, Washington to Marshall, July 16,

Following his departure from Hampton, Marshall led the missionary efforts of the Unitarian Association in establishing and directing an industrial school for Montana Crow Indians. On one occasion, he attempted to gain the freedom of eight young Crow leaders held at Fort Snelling after an outbreak, because he felt their imprisonment brought them into contact with the "lowest class of our soldiery." In the fall of 1889 he made one last visit to Hawaii, spending nearly six months, and at his death in 1891 willed $1,200 to be used for educational purposes in the Islands.[31]

The records of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, including Marshall's correspondence, are in the Kansas State Historical Society's collections, and are available in a microfilm publication jointly sponsored by the Society and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.[32] Marshall's notes on Florida hotels and his expense account which follow were transcribed from the microfilm.

Hotels & Boarding Houses in Florida Boston, March 20, 1867

Fernandina–

The Virginia House, kept by Dr Payne,[33] a Virginian with Southern views. He has his mother & three sisters to assist him, and though not a Hotel keeper by profession, his house is comfortable, their table neat & fare good tho' very simple. The family are well educated, & courteous & disposed to do all in their power for the comfort of their guests–

1881, Marshall to Washington, November 12, 1881, Washington to Marshall, November 18, 1881, Marshall to Washington, November 23, 1881, Washington to Marshall, March 26, 1883, Marshall to Washington, April 5, 1883, "A Report of the Triennial Meeting of the Hampton Institute Alumni Association," May 23, 1884, in Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 3 vols. to date (Urbana, 1972-), I, 31-32, 39-40, 50; II, 41-42n, 132-39, 142-43, 153-56, 224-29, 235n.

31. Marshall to John D. Long, April 21, 1888, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; Harold Winfield Kent, *Charles Bishop Reed: Man of Hawaii* (Palo Alto, California, 1965), 19.
32. The author is indebted to Joseph W. Snell, assistant state archivist, Kansas State Historical Society, for checking parts of the transcription to insure greater accuracy. Mr. Snell is also editor of the microfilm edition of the New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers.
33. John M. Payne, his mother, Eliza D., sisters, Celia, Susan, and Bettie, are listed as hotelkeepers in the 1870 census. U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, original returns on microfilm, population schedule, Nassau County, Florida, p. 42.

There are other so called Hotels in Fernandina, but they are not to be recommended. A well kept house, by a Northern man would find good support.

Jacksonville–

There is no good Hotel here. The Taylor House is new but badly kept. There are several private boarding houses, some of which are to be recommended, such as Mr Favor's, Mrs Thompsons & Mrs Stickneys.[34] Mr Favor is from Chelsea Mass, and his house is generally filled with Mass[achuse]tts boarders. He will take transient guests– Terms $2. per day or $10. pr week. Either of the others named are said to very good.

St Augustine.

The Florida House kept by Mr [ ][35] fr Connecticut is a well kept & comfortable house.

Palatka–

The Putnam House kept by a young man (Austin) fr New York is the best Hotel & tolerably comfortable– Owned by Mr. H L Hart[36] a Vermonter but "sesesh"–

Hibernia. Flemings Island St. Johns river.

A very comfortable boarding house, said to be well kept, and a good place for invalids.

Green Cove Springs St Johns river–

The Union House owned by Mr Remington & kept by Mrs Eaton[37] is the most comfortable & well conducted house I found

34. None of these persons can be identified.
35. Marshall left the name blank.
36. O. E. Austin, of New York and Vermont but otherwise unidentified, and Hubbard L. Hart. A Confederate merchant and owner of the steamers *Katie* and *Dictator,* Hart reputedly saved his property from destruction by Union troops through an appeal to a Vermont officer stationed in Palatka. Ninth Census, 1870, Putnam County, Florida, 5; Rodney B. Fields to T. B. Forbush, August 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 117-18.
37. James Remington, originally of Rhode Island, also owned Remington Park resort, five miles from Green Cove Springs. Mrs. S. [or L.] Eaton was manager of Union House, described in 1870 as a first-class hotel, almost exclusively patronized by New Yorkers and Bostonians. Green Cove Springs was a fashionable spa during the period of the 1870s and 1880s. Ninth Census, 1870, Sanderson, Clay County, Florida, 49; Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia, 1875; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 125; "Rambler," *Guide to Florida* (New York, 1875; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 93;

in Florida. The Sulphur spring is highly recommended, and invalids seemed to have experienced much benefit from the use of the water.

In the interior of Florida there are not good hotels, that can be recommended to tourists or invalids, The best I found were at Ocala kept by Mr Harris[38] a well disposed man and of Union sentiments, though he is prudent in their expression as Ocala is in the heart of the secession district.

At Newnansville by Col Lemuel Wilson[39] an open & staunch loyalist, who had to escape into the Union lines, & is a thorough radical– He is now the U.S. Assessor of Int Rev Taxes[.]

These two Hotels are barely tolerable and are the only ones in the interior that I know of, that are so. All others should be avoided as well as the one at Cedar Keys kept by Capt Mason[40] from Fall River, who feeds you on fish & oysters which cost him almost nothing and charges $4. per day.

At Enterprise is a hotal which is tolerably well kept but poorly furnished– Most of the furniture having been carried off during the war & not replaced. The building is good & location fine, being at the head of Steam boat Navigation at present. The hotel is owned by Capt Brock[41] of the Steamer Darlington which makes weekly trips from Jacksonville to Enterprise– several Boston families are there spending the winter–

J F B Marshall

Marshall to Mrs. S. [or L.] A. Eaton, December 10, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

38. Ebenezer J. Harris, a South Carolina native and a pioneer settler in Florida, built the Harris House, later the Ocala House, and was the owner of a tanyard. Ninth Census, 1870, Ocala, Marion County, Florida, 5; Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (October 1927), 97.
39. Lemuel Wilson, born in North Carolina, came to Florida about 1840. A Gainesville hotelkeeper and Alachua County Republican leader, he was sometime collector of revenue at Newnansville and later at Tallahassee. Ninth Census, 1870, Gainesville, Alachua County, Florida, 29; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 211, 282; *Senate Reports,* 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 41, pt. 13, p. 195.
40. Not further identified.
41. The Brock House at Enterprise was built in the early 1850s by Jacob Brock, one of the most colorful captains on the St. Johns. A native of Vermont who came to Florida seeking his fortune, Brock had recognized the potential the scenic river offered to tourists. In addition to the

N. E. Em Aid Co. In account with J. F. B. Marshall

Drs.

1867. Mar 15.	For travelling expenses of trip to Florida as per bill of items annexed,	419.80 [419.90]
	For ½ doz Drews map of Florida[42]	
	" 3 mos services at $200. per mo. As per agreement–	600.--
		$1025.80 [1,025.90]

Crs.

1866. Dec 5.	By amount received of Chas Brewer[43] being his contribution to N.E. Em Aid Co.	50.-
	Bal due me	975.80 [975.90][44]
		1025.80 [1,025.90]

Boston Mar 15, 1867.

N. E. Em. Aid Co.

To J. F. B. Marshall. Dr.

For travelling expenses etc.– viz:

1866. Dec 16.	Fare to New York 6.	Sleeping berth 1–	7.–
17	Hack & Bus 1.10	Hotel Astor 12.05	13.15
18	Passage to Savannah per Virgo[45]		25.–
	Map of Florida .50	Waiter do carrying	
22	Hotel Savannah 5.75	Porter with trunk .25	6.–
	Passage per stmr Dictator to Jacksonville		12.–
24	Fare to Baldwin 1.–	Baldwin to Waldo 3.	4.–

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inn, he owned several of the St. Johns steamers, including the *Darlington* which was used in both Confederate and later Union service. Returning to Enterprise after the war, Brock resumed his steamer business and reopened his inn. [James] Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities* (New York, 1943), 266-69.

42. Printed by Virginia-born Columbus Drew, a Jacksonville stationer. Ninth Census, 1870, Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, 17.
43. Either Captain Charles Brewer, a native of Massachusetts, who was originally associated with the whaling business as a supplier and outfitter, or his son, also Charles, and a sugar grower in Hawaii. Coming to Hawaii in 1826, the Captain formed a trading business, in which Marshall became a partner, before purchasing a sugar plantation. By 1866 the company owned four such units and was one of the Islands' largest firms. During the American Civil War the company tried raising cotton. Brewer financed Marshall's voyage on his mission to England in 1843. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 325; II, 145-46; Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford, California, 1942), 235-36, 452n.
44. Although in April the board had authorized the treasurer to borrow $1,000 to reimburse him, Marshall was not paid in full until August. Board Minutes, April 29, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; T. B. Forbush to E. E. Hale, August 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2.
45. One of two steamers on Murray's line, sailing out of New York for Savannah on alternate Tuesdays. *New York Times*, December 14, 1867.

	Hotel Jacksonville 5.25	Drew's map Florida 1.25	6.50
	Truck 25¢ Breakfast 1-	Horse to Gordon & back 1.50	2.75
26	Fare Waldo to Baldwin 3– Supper at " 1–	B. to Jacksonville 1- Hotel Taylor House 3–	4 . - 4.–
	Boat to Shadd's Plant'tn 2.50	Fare J. to Fernandina 3.	5.50
29	Hotel Fernandina 6.75	" F. to Jacksonville 3–	9.75
	" Jacksonville 3-	„ to Baldwin 1–	4-
31	Buggy to Newnansville 8. Dinner Gainesville 1.	Breakfast at do 1– Driver 25¢	9.– 1.25
1867. Jan 2	Hotel " 5.25 Supper 1–	Hotel Boldwin 2.	7.25
5	Fare Baldwin to Lake City *2.*	L. City to Tallahassee 6.50	9.50
	Breakfast at Live Oak 1–	Hotel Tallahassee 10.50	11.50
8	Tallahassee to Lake City 6.50 Lake City to Jacksonville 3–	Supper Live Oak 1–	7.50
		Porter with trunk 25¢	3.25
9	Lodging & breakfast 2.50	Subs Florida Times 1–	3.50
16	Board at Apthorps 11– Fare to Green Cove Spg 1–	Washing 1.75 Hotel Green Cove 8.50	12.75 9.50
			$179.65

1867.	Bro't Forward	$179.65
Jan 17	Ticket to Enterprise & back in Darlington	15.–
	Fare to Palatka per Kate 2– Hotel Palatka 4.50	6.50
28	Washing 1.85 Board at Apthorps 8.50	10.35
30	Fare to New Smyrna 15– Return fare 10–	25.–
Feb 4	Porter with trunk twice .50 Board at Favors 7.50	8.–
12	Fare to Fernandina 3– Hotel Fernandina 19.95	22.95
17	" " Jacksonville 3– J. to Palatka per Dictator 6–	9.–
18	Hotel Palatka 4.25 Washing 1.20	5.45
19	Fare to Silver Spring per Stmr Ocklawaha	10.–
	Silver Spring to Ocala .50 Hotel Ocala 5–	5.50

46. Originally a numbered series of nine letters on "Florida and Texas," signed "Verdad" but written by an army surgeon before the war for the Charleston (South Carolina) *Courier*, these were collected together and published as promotional literature because they extolled the virtues of Florida. Extracts were quoted quite liberally in the New England Emigrant Aid Company's pamphlet on Florida. Charleston *Courier*, April 6, 11, 20, 24, May 8, 12, 22, 31, June 7, 1860; Bernard M. Byrne, ***Letters on the*** *Climate,* ***Soils, and Productions*** *of* ***Florida*** (Ralston, Pennsylvania, 1866).

	3 Copies Flor[id]a & Texas[46] 1–	Buggy to Gainesville ½ 17	17.–
	Buggy to Capt Taylor's ½ of 5 2.50	Driver to " .50	3.–
		Hotel Cedar	
24	Hotel Gainesville 3.75	Keys 4– Boat 1–	8.75
26	" " 2.50	" Newnansvihe 2–	4.50
28	Washing & Servants Brown 1–	Horse feed 1–	2.–
	Buggy to Brown's– Newnansville & Gordon 4 dys.		16.–
Mar 1.	Horse feed 1–	Hotel Waldo 3.50	4.50
		Porter .25	
	Fare to Jacksonville 1–	Washing 1.50	2.75
4	Boat to Pottsburg 2–	Board at Favor's 10–	12.–
		Horses–	
	Fare to Savannah 10–	Sanderson 6.–	16.–
	Omnibus-Savannah 1.50	Hotel Savannah 1.50	3.–
	Passage to New York 25–	Fare to Boston 6–	31.–
		Supper–	
	Hack in " " " 1–	Springfield 1.–	2.–
			419.80
			[419.90]

Chgd in a/c
Boston March 15, 1867

ROBERT AND JOHN GRATTAN GAMBLE: MIDDLE FLORIDA ENTREPRENEURS

by MICHAEL G. SCHENE*

SOME TIME IN 1826 the son of a wealthy Richmond merchant first looked upon the rich wilderness of Florida.[1] Deteriorating economic conditions in Virginia combined with the attractive prospect of fertile tracts of land available at moderate prices in the new territory prompted John Grattan Gamble to visit Middle Florida.[2] His tour probably included Tallahassee and the Gulf coast around St. Marks.[3] Satisfied with what he found, Gamble returned to Virginia and persuaded members of his family to join him in Florida. Included were his brother, Robert, his brothers-in-law, William H. Cabell and William Wirt, and Wirt's young son-in-law, Thomas Randall.[4]

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1. Major Robert Gamble, Jr.'s Notebook, 54-55. Hereinafter cited as Gamble Notebook. This manuscript contains details regarding the family in Scotland, references to their life in Virginia, a brief description of Robert's participation in the Second Seminole War, and a narrative of the holocaust that swept Tallahassee in 1843. The original is in the possession of Howard Gamble, Eustis, Florida, and a copy is in the Jefferson County Historical Society archives. The Gambles settled in the Shenandoah Valley in 1746. Robert, the first of the family born in America, established himself as a merchant in Richmond about 1800. He retired in 1806, turning the business over to his sons, John Grattan and Robert. The embargo acts and the War of 1812 all but shattered the family enterprise. After the conflict, they worked for several years on an extension of the James River Canal. The termination of the project prompted them to leave Virginia for Florida. Michael G. Schene, "Gamble Mansion," mimeographed (Tallahassee, 1972), chapter 1, *passim*, copy at Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida.
2. Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (Urbana, 1926), 122-27.
3. Selected as the territorial capital in 1824, Tallahassee, within two years, had grown into a small community with a population of 500. *Niles' Weekly Register*, January 31, 1824; October 29, 1825; March 18, 1826. Cotton had been shipped from St. Marks as early as 1825, and facilities were being erected at Magnolia by 1827. *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 2, 1833; *Senate Documents*, 20th Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, exhibit A, p. 6; Tallahassee *Florida Advocate*, December 15, 1827.
4. William Wirt married Elizabeth Washington Gamble, John and

Personal savings and funds derived from their father's estate were sources of capital for the Gambles. Robert's wife was also a lady of means, and she owned slaves.[5] Preparations for the trip extended into the following year, and it was not until the fall of 1827 that the two brothers began the journey to Florida. Years later, John's son, Major Robert Gamble, Jr., recalled the trip: "Our caravan consisted of a close *[sic]* carriage . . . and two heavy road waggons. We carried two large housetents which together with the covered waggons and carriages furnished shelter for all, day and night. We reached Tallahassee on Christmas Eve, 1827, and on Christmas Day moved on and reached home, having camped the previous night on the [St.] Augustine Road just E[ast] of the branch."[6]

The brothers began purchasing land immediately, and before the end of the decade John claimed that his Jefferson County plantation, Waukeenah, included over 6,000 acres. He also owned fifty-five slaves at this time. John began purchasing public land at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre in 1827 and, in three years, had acquired over 18,000 acres. Robert's plantation, Weelaunee, also in Jefferson County, encompassed some 5,000 acres and employed forty hands. Most of this tract and an additional 3,000 acres had been purchased from the government

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Robert's sister. He served as attorney general to Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams. He was a renowned attorney, and argued before the Supreme Court several precedent-setting cases, including *McCullock* v. *Maryland, Gibbons* v. *Ogden,* and the Dartmouth College case. In 1831, he was selected by the Anti-Masons as their candidate for the presidency. Wirt's daughter, Laura, married Thomas Randall shortly before their departure for Florida in 1827. Randall became a judge on the Superior Court for the Middle District of Florida. William H. Cabell, former governor of Virginia, who subsequently served on the Florida Supreme Court, married Agnes Sarah Bell Gamble, John and Robert's other sister, in 1805. Thomas P. Abernathy, "William Wirt," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), 418-21; Richard L. Morton, "William H. Cabell," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), III, 390; John P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1849), I, 90; II, 232; Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* 26 vols., *The Territory of Florida* (Washington, 1934-1962), XXIII, 882-83; Alexander Brown. *The Cabells and Their Kin* (Richmond, 1939), 272.

5. Jefferson County Deed Record Book D, 452-54. Unless otherwise noted, all Jefferson County documents are located at the county courthouse in Monticello, Florida.
6. Gamble Notebook, 55-56.

in 1827.[7] Other family plantations included the Cabell estate, Dulce Domum, and Thomas Randall's Belmont and Wirtland.[8] The family was well known throughout the county, and residents regularly visited Waukeenah to pick up their mail and to chat with Postmaster John Gamble.[9]

Expending their original capital rapidly, John and Robert were forced to borrow extensively. Robert W. Williams, Romeo Lewis, and Richard C. Allen were among those who loaned them money.[10] The chartering of the Bank of Florida in 1828-1829 was welcomed by the family, and with John's assistance as bank director, two loans totaling $11,000 were negotiated.[11]

Deteriorating relations between William Williams, president of the bank, and John– who publicly called Williams "Old Shylock"– were partially responsible for the latter's effort to secure a branch of the Bank of the United States in Tallahassee and

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7. *Bank of Florida* v. *John G. Gamble, Executor of the Estate of A. J. Cabell,* Jefferson County Chancery Records, 1832 (hereinafter cited as *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell);* Receipt Book Public Land Sales, 1825-31, Tallahassee, Florida, in William S. Jenkins, ed., *Records of the States of the United States,* microfilmed by the Library of Congress, 1949, 63, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 100, 137, 139, 170, 211, 222. Waukeenah was situated approximately six miles northeast of the Wacissa River and eight miles west of the Aucilla River. Today, the small community of Waukeenah is located on a portion of the former plantation. Weelaunee partially adjoined Waukeenah and extended in a southeast direction toward the Aucilla River. Hand drawn map of Abram Cabell, ca. 1828-1830, William H. Cabell Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.
8. Abraham or Abram J. Cabell, the second son of William H. Cabell and his first wife, managed a 2,560 acre plantation in Jefferson County from 1827 until his death in 1831. After his death the estate's tangible assets were sold to satisfy his debts, and the residual reverted to his heirs. Thomas Randall owned a smaller plantation, Belmont, situated between Waukeenah and Weelaunee. Randall and Wirt's other son-in-law, Navy Lieutenant Louis M. Goldsborough, managed Wirt's plantation, Wirtland, located a few miles from Lake Miccosukee in Jefferson County. The elderly Virginian attempted, also, to establish a colony of German immigrants on a tract of his Jefferson County property. Cabell map; Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin,* 280; *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell;* Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *Richard Keith Call, Southern Unionist* (Gainesville, 1961), 85-86.
9. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 982.
10. *John Gamble, Executor of the Estate of John G. Gamble* v. *B. F. Allen, Administrator, R. C. Allen, Deceased and Thomas Brown,* Leon County Law Records, File 523 (hereinafter cited as *Gamble* v. *Brown).* Unless otherwise noted, all Leon County documents are located at the county courthouse in Tallahassee.
11. *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell.* The bank officially opened for business in March 1830. Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate,* March 30, 1830.

to aid in the establishment of the Central Bank of Florida.[12] John served on the first board of directors of the Central Bank, terminating his formal affiliation with the institution when the Union Bank was organized.[13]

The Gambles experimented with the major staples, including cotton, tobacco, and sugarcane, in their search for a lucrative cash crop. Sugarcane was initially tested, but the winter of 1830 was severe, and the entire crop of both brothers was was lost. Confident that cane would yield a profit, they made additional plantings in the early 1830s. Robert Gamble in 1833, even constructed a brick sugarhouse complex at Weelaunee. Novelty Iron Works of New York, one of the country's principal manufacturers of cane processing equipment, furnished the machinery. Continued bad weather and inefficient processing techniques probably forced the family to abandon cane as a crop.[14]

In 1830, a crop of Sea Island cotton was baled, carted to St. Marks, and subsequently marketed in Liverpool. However, Robert Howard Gamble, Robert's eldest son, eliminated this cotton in later plantings, possibly due to production problems. Beginning in 1835, Weelaunee was turned over to the cultivation of Petit Gulf cotton, a hybrid variety developed in Mississippi around 1830.[15] The steady decline in cotton prices be-

12. *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell.* The charter for this bank was passed by the Legislative Council over the veto of Governor William P. DuVal in 1832. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1832), 114-22. It was organized in July 1832 with Benjamin Chaires as president. Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 17, 1832.
13. Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 17, 1832.
14. *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell;* Robert H. Gamble Plantation Day Book, July 2 - November 30, 1833, *passim* (hereinafter cited as Gamble Day Book). Robert Howard Gamble, the eldest son of Robert, managed Weelaunee from the time of his father's settlement until the early 1860s. The manuscript consists of his daily entries regarding the operation of Weelaunee during this time. Crop production and the activities of plantation farming are discussed in detail. The original is in the the possession of Howard Gamble, Eustis, Florida, and a copy is in the Jefferson County Historical Society archives. On the Novelty Iron Works, see J. [John] Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860,* 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1868; facsimile edition, New York, 1967), III, 125-28.
15. *Bank of Florida* v. *Cabell;* Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXX (April 1962), 377; Gamble Day Book, May 4, 1835; John Hebron Moore, *Agriculture in Ante-Bellum Mississippi* (New York, 1958), 27-36.

ginning in 1837, and continuing during the next decade, eliminated it as a source of profit for the Gambles.[16]

John Gamble helped organize a cotton planters' convention in Macon, Georgia, in October 1839, which was attended by planters, businessmen, and politicians who were all affected by declining cotton prices. Producers were asked to withhold their cotton from the market or to ship their crop to a favored merchant house in Liverpool, and banks were encouraged to alleviate the general distress by advancing approximately twelve cents per pound to cotton producers. While the Macon plan had no effect on the immediate situation, it established the important precedent of cooperation among producers.[17] When cotton prices continued to tumble during the forties, John suggested that, "Southern planters . . . turn their labors to something else. And . . . I am sure that we can grow Indigo, Wine, Silk, Sisal Hemp, Sugar & c to advantage."[18]

Tobacco was also cultivated; by the 1830s a large leaf variety called "Florida Wrapper" was being produced. It was widely used in cigars and brought premium prices before 1837. Prices then began to decline, and many growers abandoned it as a cash crop. John Gamble continued to cultivate tobacco, however, turning it into cigars which he marketed through his nephew, James B. Gamble, a Tallahassee merchant.[19]

The difficulty in transporting produce overland to the St. Marks River prompted the Gambles to seek a more convenient outlet to the Gulf. With his prior experience in river dredging and canal construction, John explored the Wacissa River in 1830 and claimed that it could be rendered navigable for $3,000-$4,000. Hoping to obtain financial assistance and land from

16. Cotton averaged almost thirteen cents a pound between 1832-1838; during 1841-1850, the average price was 7.89 cents. Cotton reached a low of 5.92 cents in 1845. E. [Ezekiel] J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton* (New York, 1872), 176, 186, 198, 206, 216, 230, 231; J. D. B. [James Dunwoody Brownson] DeBow, *The Industrial Resources, Etc., of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1852-1853), I, 149.
17. Weymouth T. Jordan, "Cotton Planters' Conventions in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (August 1953), 322.
18. John Gamble to William C. Preston, June 22, 1842, William C. Preston Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.
19. *DeBow's Review*, XVIII (January 1855), 36-39; Charles H. DuPont, "History of the Introduction and Culture of Cuba Tobacco in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (January 1928), 149-50; John Gamble to Preston, June 22, 1842, Preston Papers.

the federal government, he corresponded with Joseph M. White, territorial delegate to Congress and a family friend.[20]

Although aid from Congress was not forthcoming, the Gambles, nevertheless, pressed ahead with the project. In 1831, the Legislative Council granted a charter incorporating the Wacissa and Aucilla Navigation Company with authority to sell stock in order to raise the necessary funds. Upon completion of the work, it was empowered to assess and collect tolls.[21] Four years later, 500 shares were offered for sale. Advertisements notified prospective buyers throughout Middle Florida that they could obtain an interest in the company for only one dollar.[22] In 1836, the stockholders tried to resurrect congressional interest in their work, but the petition went unheeded, and the venture was abandoned. It was revived briefly in 1850, but the proposed company was never organized, and in the 1870s engineers reported that the river had not been improved.[23]

The Gambles continued to purchase land, but they found many of the tracts they wanted in private hands and that prices had risen. John and Robert apparently paid about $3.00 per acre for the land acquired during this period. Occasionally, though, a particularly attractive quarter or half section cost $6.00-$10.00 an acre. Land was sometimes purchased from family members, but seemingly on the same terms.[24] By the end of the 1830s, Robert held over 8,000 acres in Jefferson County and owned sixty-seven slaves.[25] His brother bought some Jefferson County land, but most of his purchases were in Leon County.

In the spring of 1835, John consummated a business deal with Richard C. Allen, Romeo Lewis, and Samuel H. Duval. For $42,000 he acquired approximately 1,000 acres of Leon County land and sixty-seven slaves.[26] The land was quickly transformed into a working plantation, Neamathla, located about

20. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 358-59.
21. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1831), 79-83.
22. Tallahassee *Floridian,* June 27, 1835.
23. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* January 15, 1850; *Senate Executive Documents,* 47th Cong., 1st sess., no. 11, pp. 10, 11.
24. Jefferson County Deed Record Book A, 451, 477-78, 561-62, 594; Leon County Deed Record Book F, 120.
25. Jefferson County Tax Rolls, 1839, p. 2, microfilm, Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida (hereinafter cited as JCTR). There are no microfilm roll numbers for this series.
26. *Gamble* v. *Brown.*

two miles east of Tallahassee. A steam-powered saw and grist mill was built, and business was solicited from county residents.[27]

Town lots seemed a safe investment in rapidly growing Tallahassee. In 1835, Thomas Brown arranged for John to satisfy a $6,000 promissory note. The transaction included several pieces of property and Brown's City Hotel.[28] John's interest in other areas probably prompted a rapid disposal of these holdings, however, and a section of the Lafayette township was purchased.[29] By the end of the 1830s John owned 1,600 acres in Leon County and thirty-two slaves.[30]

The paucity of fluid capital and absence of a banking system were serious problems for the Gambles. William Wirt, writing to his brother-in-law, William H. Cabell, in 1832, discussed the difficulty of conducting business under these conditions. His brothers-in-law, he said, "have been constantly borrowing money for their plantation affairs ever since they have been out– it has been a constant, constant, sore, heartbreaking pressure to raise money."[31] To provide the funds necessary for their land speculation and plantation operations the Gambles helped to organize a planter bank.

Many such institutions were being created in the South to aid agricultural communities. Modeled after the Union Bank of Louisiana which was incorporated in January 1832, they

27. Tallahassee *Floridian.* July 14, 1838.
28. Leon County Deed Book E, 37.
29. *Ibid.* The Marquis de LaFayette had been granted a township of land by the United States in 1824, in appreciation of the services that he had rendered during the Revolution. A township adjoining Tallahassee on the northeast, designated as township one, north, in range one, east, was finally selected. LaFayette hoped to settle French farmers on the land, and an attempt to carry out his plans was initiated in 1831. The colony failed, however, and the Norman peasants scattered. Subsequently, the tract was sold to various buyers. Kathryn T. Abbey, "The Story of the LaFayette Lands in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* X (January 1932), 115-33.
30. Leon County Tax Rolls, 1839, p. 10, microfilm, Florida State Library, Tallahassee (hereinafter cited as LCTR). There are no microfilm roll numbers for this series.
31. William Wirt to William H. Cabell, December 14, 1832, William Wirt Letterbook, 1832-1834, William Wirt Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, microfilm roll 23, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. This collection, rich in material about Jefferson County and Middle Florida, is described in John B. Boles, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers* (Baltimore, 1971).

raised funds through state assistance and through loans made on real and personal property.[32]

Governor William P. DuVal in 1833 called on the Florida Legislative Council to establish a bank that could satisfy "the wants of the planter" and that would be "in fact, as well as name, truly the *Planter's Bank.*"[33] Within the month the act creating the Union Bank of Florida was passed, and with slight modification, it received DuVal's approval.

Initially to be capitalized at $1,000,000, the bank would be allowed to expand to $3,000,000. This capital was to be raised through the sale of territorial or "faith bonds." Individuals could receive a twenty-year bank loan by mortgaging their property– house, land, and slaves– to the bank. They could then receive bank funds equaling two-thirds of the appraised value of their property.[34] The charter stipulated that one-third of its assets would be used to discount promissory notes, provide a circulating currency, and furnish other services "considered essential in trading communities."[35]

John Gamble's influential position in Florida and his family's close ties with important commercial interests were reasons for his selection as the bank's first president. He continued to direct its affairs until his death in the early 1850s. He was succeeded by Benjamin F. Whitner of Madison County.[36]

Robert Gamble served on the board of directors for several years, and Robert Gamble, Jr., was appointed a bank appraiser in Jefferson County. Family friends also received bank positions. John Parkhill became head cashier,[37] and he was replaced years later by Charles Fenton Mercer, a prominent Virginia poli-

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32. Emile Philippe Grenier, "Property Banks in Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1942), 187. The charter of the Union Bank of Florida was identical to that of the Louisiana facility, except that the Florida bank could not issue dividends until its bond obligations had been extinguished. *Reply of the Board of Directors of the Union Bank* (Tallahassee, 1840), 4.
33. *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1833), 6.
34. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1833), 73-84.
35. *House Executive Documents,* 26th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 111, p. 282.
36. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* February 18, 1862.
37. *House Executive Documents,* 26th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 111, p. 298; Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXV, 102.

tician.[38] Thomas Brown was employed as teller.[39] This intricate web of relationships was later attacked by bank critics, and it helped fuel the opposition to the institution.[40]

In the spring of 1834 the first issue of 360 bonds, worth $1,000 each, was validated. John Gamble arranged their sale in New York late the following year through Prime, Ward, and King, J. D. Beers & Co., J. L. & S. Joseph of New York, and Thomas Biddle & Co. of Philadelphia. These firms were also given the option of purchasing the remaining 640 bonds, which they later exercised. With a capital of $1,000,000 the Union Bank "commenced its banking business in the discounting of notes and issue of bank bills as a medium of currency, on the 16th January, 1835."[41]

The Gambles were confident that the venture would succeed and began laying claim to bank funds some eighteen months before the bonds were finally sold. In February 1834, John mortgaged 5,020 acres and sixty-seven slaves as security for a loan of $59,400. The same day Robert concluded a similar loan for $56,900. More loans were negotiated during the next two years and brought the brothers additional capital amounting to $18,700 and $15,500, respectively.[42]

The freeze of 1835, the beginning of the Second Seminole War late that same year, and the onset of the national depression in 1837 ended the mild prosperity that Middle Florida had been enjoying. To alleviate the general distress, or perhaps for other reasons, the bank directors voted to increase the capital to the legal limit of $3,000,000. The bylaws were amended at the same time, and stockholders were informed that they could receive further loans on their mortgaged

38. *Niles' National Register,* November 23, 1839. He served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1810 until his election to the House of Representatives in 1817. He resigned from Congress on December 26, 1839 to accept the position with the Union Bank. Charles F. Arrowood, "Charles Fenton Mercer," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XII, 539.
39. Tallahassee *Floridian,* January 17, 1835.
40. Dorothy Dodd, ed., *Florida Becomes a State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 55-60, 177-79, 184-87.
41. *House Executive Documents,* 26th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 111, pp. 278-79.
42. Jefferson County Deed Record Book A, 562-64, 579-80; Deed Record Book B, 19-20, 92-93, 135-36, 347; Leon County Deed Record Book E, 227.

property. Governor Richard K. Call promptly issued 2,000 bonds, and in March 1838, they were delivered to the Union Bank.[43]

The following June, John Gamble departed for New York where he sold 200 bonds to the American Life Insurance and Trust Company. Then, with several letters of introduction, he sailed for Europe in August. In Amsterdam he sold 100 bonds to Hope and Company. He disposed of 966 in London and hypothecated 704 to Palmer, MacKillop, Dent and Company of London. The other thirty of the 2,000 bonds were sold in Florida.[44] The possibility that Florida could repudiate the bonds with impunity constituted Hope and Company's major objection to purchasing more than 100 bonds.[45]

In anticipation of the second sale of bonds, the Gambles had arranged for new loans in the spring of 1838. The amended charter allowed them to negotiate further loans on bank-mortgaged property. In five separate agreements concluded over a two-month period, John mortgaged 7,710 acres of land and 136 slaves as collateral for a bank loan of $87,000. His property in Leon County was used to secure a loan of $23,500. At the same time, Robert secured bank capital totaling $51,000, pledging 8,060 acres and 118 slaves.[46]

Middle Florida was in a depressed economic condition throughout most of the 1840s. The contraction of the money supply and the elimination of the territory's only credit facility had served to exacerbate the tight situation. Creditors, including the Union Bank, pressed for payment of their notes, and court dockets were soon crowded with civil actions dealing with defaulted loans. *Niles' Register* in 1842 noted that there were 1,278 cases being adjudicated in Middle Florida. The Tallahassee *Star*, quoted in the same article, summarized the deplorable condition: "Property will not command money– cotton, the great

43. *House Executive Documents*, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 111, pp. 283-84; *Reply of Board of Directors of Union Bank*, 31-35.
44. *House Executive Documents*, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 111, p. 281; Reginald C. McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts* (New York, 1935), 228, 233; Kathryn T. Abbey, "The Union Bank of Tallahassee: An Experiment in Territorial Finance," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (April 1937), 215.
45. Hope and Company to Baring Brothers, December 4, 1838, Baring Brothers Papers, microfilm roll 55, Library of Congress.
46. Jefferson County Deed Record Book B, 134-35; Deed Record Book C, 133, 136, 137-38, 139-40, 143-44, 145-46, 247; Leon County Deed Record Book E, 596, 597, 598, 599.

staple of the country, cannot be sold for cash in this market. Houses and lands are valueless. . . . Property sold under execution . . . will hardly sell for sufficient to pay the costs of suit, sale, and the fees of the officers."[47] John Gamble agreed that valuable property was now worthless, noting that a tract purchased in 1840 for $13,000 was sold at a sheriff's sale two years later for $900.[48]

The brothers tried to accommodate themselves to the collapsed state of the economy. Business transactions were curtailed, and the liquidation of unencumbered assets was commenced. Such activity brought a quick response from the family. By two separate indentures signed in 1842, John and Robert granted all of their tangible assets to their immediate relatives. They were allowed, however, to continue the management of their plantations.[49]

During this period the brothers appeared often as defendants in the courts, and frequently these suits involved alleged nonpayment of promissory notes, many of which had been executed by the Union Bank. In an action that reached the Superior Court in Jefferson County in the fall of 1842, John and Rufus Leavitt, complainants, argued that the Union Bank had executed a $1,762.05 promissory note in the summer of 1840. The note was co-endorsed by several individuals, and finally by Robert Gamble, who presented it to the plaintiffs. When it was not honored at the Merchant's Bank in New York the Leavitts filed suit against Robert. The court ruled in favor of the Leavitts, and the decree required Robert to pay them $1,924.45.[50]

The absence of unencumbered property shielded the Gambles from other adverse judgments. Albert W. Smith pressed an action against Robert and was awarded $4,718.71, but the sheriff

47. *Niles' National Register,* December 10, 1842.
48.. McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders,* 242. The territorial government tried to relieve the situation by suspending most taxes during the early 1840s. *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1840), 56; *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1841), 71; *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1842), 54.
49. Leon County Deed Record Book G, 380; Jefferson County Deed Record Book D, 452-54.
50. *John W. Leavitt and Rufus Leavitt* v. *Robert Gamble,* Jefferson County Law Records, 1842.

penciled on the file jacket the information: "No property found on which to levy this . . . [writ].[51] The Union Bank, the mortgagor of much of the brothers' property, accepted a $26,000 promissory note from Robert which had been endorsed by John in 1840. When Robert subsequently defaulted, the bank filed for and received a $27,222.00 judgment. The clerk of the court completed the necessary paper work a year later and entered on the record the notation that "no property" had been found "on which to levy this judgment."[52]

Before the end of the decade the Gambles began to redeem their mortgaged property. In 1846, Robert H. Gamble paid the bank $45,400 and satisfied the lien on 103 slaves. In the winter of 1850, he cancelled the mortgage on 880 acres through a payment of $8,000. Late in the same year his father redeemed 5,670 acres of land and fourteen slaves, paying the bank $79,900.[53] Robert also purchased some of his brother's mortgaged property. In the transaction, John was paid $6,000 for 960 acres, and the property was released to Robert after the payment of $10,000 to the bank.[54] Similar sales were concluded with other individuals. In 1850, John Q. Wethington purchased 240 acres from John Gamble, paying him $960 and the bank $3,000.[55] Other sales were concluded in the usual way, and by 1852, John had sold almost 4,000 acres of his Jefferson County property. His Leon County property amounted to 820 acres and 70 slaves. Robert's property totaled 7,280 acres and 165 hands.[56]

During the early 1850s John continued his active interest in the economic issues of Florida. The renewed interest in cotton mills received his approval; he hoped that a cotton factory would be built in Tallahassee.[57] Returning to Macon in the fall of 1851, John addressed a group of fellow producers who

51. *Albert W. Smith* v. *Robert Gamble*, Jefferson County Law Records, 1842.
52. *Union Bank* v. *Robert Gamble*, Jefferson County Law Records, 1842. Territorial stay laws and a national bankruptcy act furnished additional protection to delinquent debtors. *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1842), 22; *U. S., Statutes at Large*, 5, 440.
53. Jefferson County Deed Record Book E, 346.
54. *Ibid.*, Book G, 137.
55. *Ibid.*, Book F, 247.
56. JCTR, 1852, p. 8; LCTR, 1852, p. 12.
57. Richard W. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida, 1828-1863," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (January 1962), 270-71.

had assembled in response to the continuation of low cotton prices. He suggested that agricultural societies be established in every county in the South which would regulate crop sales and possess the power to fine members for excessive production. He also proposed that more cotton mills be built.[58] His proposals were not adopted by the convention, but he continued to stress the necessity for concerted action among planters.[59]

After John's death in 1852, his wife and eldest son managed his estate and continued the liquidation of his assets. Robert transferred his property to his sons, Robert H. and James B., and moved to Baltimore. The bright promise that Florida had once held for the Gambles dissolved under the impact of later adverse economic conditions. Instead of immense profits being wrested from the virgin wilderness, the family had to struggle for a modicum of financial stability. "Speculation, speculation, has been making poor men rich and rich men princes," was indeed an aprocryphal vision for John G. and Robert Gamble.[60]

58. DeBow, *Industrial Resources,* I, 137-39.
59. *DeBow's Review,* XII (January 1852), 276.
60. William H. Wills, quoted in Moore, *Agriculture in Ante-Bellum Mississippi,* 220.

A PADRONE LOOKS AT FLORIDA: LABOR RECRUITING AND THE FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY

by GEORGE E. POZZETTA*

THE YEARS SURROUNDING the turn of the present century consituted a golden era of railroad construction and consolidation in Florida's history. It was during this period that developer Henry B. Plant absorbed many small lines, pushed his steel rails to Florida's west coast, and insured the future significance of Tampa Bay. William D. Chipley, "Mr. Railroad of West Florida," constructed lines throughout the panhandle and invested heavily in the port of Pensacola. The railroad man epitomizing this age's spirit of optimism and enterprise, however, was Standard Oil millionaire Henry M. Flagler, who chose the east coast of Florida as his domain. Flagler's road plunged through swamps and sandy barrens to link Jacksonville with Miami in 1896, and he captured the attention of the nation after 1904 with the construction of his famous "Overseas Railroad" to Key West.[1]

In performing these impressive feats, Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway overcame difficulties of every kind, both man-made and natural. If one is to believe the company's own records, however, the problem that proved to be the most longlasting and irritating centered on acquiring a constant supply of dependable, cheap, unskilled labor for the line's ever expanding track gangs. Company officials complained constantly of the quality and quantity of black labor available to them in Florida, and native whites simply would not take the more menial, dangerous positions offered by the road.[2] The search for workers often took

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1. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 281-87; George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 63-101, 102-08, 115-23.
2. These problems became acute on the Key West Extension project. Todd M. Tinkham, "The Construction of the Key West Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway, 1905-1915" (term paper, Kalamazoo College, 1968), 31-36; Carlton J. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway to Key West," *Tequesta,* XIII (1953), 3-22.

railroad employers into the urban centers of the northeast where thousands of recently-arrived immigrants resided. To secure these laborers, the railroad frequently relied upon the services of an important immigrant institution– the padrone, or labor boss.

The padrone served the needs of American employers such as the Florida East Coast Railway and immigrant newcomers by acting as a middle man. Native businessmen rarely understood the old world traditions, customs, and languages of foreign workers and, hence, found it difficult or impossible to deal with them directly. This was particularly true of employers, such as those in Florida, who were away from the immigrant-filled cities of the North. Similarly, these newcomers often were ignorant of American employment practices and economic trends. For the most part they lacked contacts with native firms, and few possessed the language skills necessary to acquire them. Labor agents were normally foreigners themselves who had acquired some use of English and who had made connections with American contractors.[3] As such they were in a position to act as intermediaries between the country's burgeoning economy and the immigrant masses.

Florida businesses were willing to utilize the services that the labor boss could provide. The typical padrone advertised for prospective workers in the immigrant community, collected the requisite number of men, and shipped them to the work site. In many cases they supplied room and board for laborers (at a fee), sold steamship tickets, transmitted funds back to the old country, and performed dozens of other needed services for immigrants.[4] These were tasks that most Florida concerns were unable to perform effectively. Unfortunately, the padrone system had no con-

3. Although the padrone system existed among many different ethnic groups, including Greeks, Austrians, Turks, Poles, and others, it came to be identified most clearly in the American mind with Italian immigrants. For information on the Italian padroni see Humbert S. Nelli, *The Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930: A Study in Ethnic Mobility* (New York, 1970), 56-66; and Luciano J. Iorizzo, "The Padrone and Immigrant Distribution," in Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engel, eds., *The Italian Experience in the United States* (New York, 1970), 43-75.

4. John Koren, "The Padrone System and Padrone Banks," *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, No. 9 (March 1897), 114-17; Frank J. Sheridan, "Italian, Slavic, and Hungarian Unskilled Immigrant Laborers in the United States," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, No. 72 (September 1907), 437-38.

trols beyond the honesty of individual bosses, and it soon became rampant with abuses.

Padroni often advertised false information regarding wages, types of work, and location of job sites. When unsuspecting laborers signed contracts, they sometimes found themselves transported to undesirable areas, forced to work at tasks they disliked, and paid less than advertised wages. One typical case concerned forty Greeks shipped to Punta Gorda, Florida. These workers found an isolated, fly-infested work camp with only a ditch to supply drinking water. When some attempted to flee, foremen threatened them with guns to force them to remain on the job.[5] In return for finding jobs, padroni collected a fee *(bossatura)* generally totaling one to six dollars depending on the nature of the work. Many immigrants were victimized by agents who took their fees and abandoned them in transit. Others arrived to find that more workers than were needed had been hired. Meanwhile the padrone pocketed the extra fees. Agents also promised long periods of employment only to discharge men after a brief period so as to collect the *bossatura* from additional workers.[6]

On the job site most employers allowed padroni to run the commissary.[7] This system was supposed to make available suitable food and supplies at reasonable costs, but often padroni served food of poor quality at mark-ups of fifty to 100 per cent. Moreover, workers often had a fixed amount deducted from their pay each month whether they bought from the commissary or not. Occasionally, bosses required their men to buy the tools they worked with, again at inflated prices. Many employers turned the men's wages in a lump sum over to the padrone, trusting him to make an equitable breakdown. This was an almost open invita-

5. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, 1972), 40-41. For other complaints about conditions in Florida, see Henry S. Marks, "Labor Problems of the Florida East Coast Railway Extension from Homestead to Key West, 1905-1907," *Tequesta,* XXXII (1972), 28-29.
6. Salvatore Merlino, "Italian Immigrants and their Enslavement," *Forum,* XV (April 1893), 186; unsigned, "Americanizing the Alien," *Immigrants in America Review,* I (July 1915), 3-4.
7. The FEC seems to have been atypical in this respect. During the construction of the Key West extension, the railroad assumed responsibility for the housing and feeding of workers. The FEC hired a chief steward who oversaw the operation of all dining halls in the railroad's many camps. See Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, 1949), 211.

tion to larceny.[8] Padroni regularly deducted sums to cover a wide range of usually nonexistent services such as life insurance, medical care, letter writing facilities, and recreational materials. One particularly innovative boss even made a monthly charge for a *diretta di madonna* (contribution to the Holy Mother).[9]

To look only at the abuses of the padrone system in Florida and elsewhere would be to present a flawed picture of this institution. However exploitive, it did provide a vital function to the immigrants which could not have been fulfilled by any other organization in its day. As one scholar noted, padroni often victimized newcomers mercilessly, "yet without them the immigrants would have found themselves unable even to make a living."[10] Beyond this basic significance, the labor boss was instrumental in distributing immigrants throughout the nation. Accustomed to residing in tight-knit urban enclaves, many immigrants received their first introduction to Florida and other sections of the country while in padrone employ. Moreover, bosses occasionally took the lead in establishing immigrant colonies in the nation's rural sections.[11]

The padroni were particularly active during the 1890s. Thereafter, a series of forces intersected to bring about a sharp decline in their power and influence. Immigrant protective societies and American authors combined to produce an impressive volume of anti-padrone literature, and the reform impetus they generated ultimately resulted in state laws severely limiting labor boss operations.[12] Immigrants themselves became more knowledgeable of American economic conditions and, therefore, less dependent on their countrymen. When public pressures after 1900 forced American railroad and construction officials to terminate

8. Dominic T. Ciolli, "The 'Wop' in the Track Gang," *Immigrants in America Review*, II (July 1916), 61; Walter E. Weyl, "The Italian who Lived on 26¢ a Day," *Outlook*, XLIII (December 1909), 969; "Labor Abuses among Italians," *Charities*, XII (May 1904), 449.
9. Frances A. Kellor, "Who is Responsible for the Immigrant?" *Outlook*, CVI (December 1914), 912; Gino C. Speranza, "The Italian Foreman as a Social Agent: Labor Abuse in West Virginia and their Consequences to the Community," *Charities*, XI (July 1903), 26-28.
10. Giovanni Schiavo, *Italian-American History*, 2 vols. (New York, 1947-1949), I, 538.
11. Luciano J. Iorizzo and Salvatore Mondello, *The Italian-Americans* (New York, 1971), 140.
12. For examples see Frances A. Kellor, *Out of Work: A Study of Unemployment* (New York, 1905; facsimile edition, New York, 1971); Charles B. Phipard, "The Philanthropist-Padrone," *Charities*, XII (May 1904), 470.

padroni contracts and turn instead to certified labor agents, the fate of the labor boss became sealed.[13]

Although the amount of business correspondence and records generated by padrone activity must have been considerable, very few of these documents evidently have survived. Three items in the holdings of the St. Augustine Historical Society relate specifically to such a business arrangement.[14] The documents consist of a letter from Mr. V. Palumbo, a New York City labor boss, to the Florida East Coast Railway office, concerning the details of an ongoing contract to supply Italian workers to the company, and two clippings from an Italian language newspaper printed in New York. One is a classified advertisment calling for workers to go to Florida; the other is a lengthy defense of Mr. Palumbo's Florida business ventures addressed to New York Italians.

The materials are unique in a number of respects. The letter is detailed and frank; it describes, in Mr. Palumbo's somewhat fractured English, the full range of difficulties that confronted a padrone in his Florida operations. This is a perspective on labor boss activities not normally found, and it shows that the job was not an easy one. Palumbo had to deal with uneducated, suspicious immigrants who often failed to understand fully the terms of contracts. When they perceived something awry, more often than not they walked off the job or refused to go at all. As such, the labor recruiting business proved to be quite risky and funds expended for travel, commissary supplies, and office expenses were occasionally lost beyond recall. On the other hand, American employers were not to be taken for granted. They were shrewd bargaining agents who were not adverse to taking advantage of bosses; they generally entered into contracts only on terms most favorable to themselves. These documents further point out that padroni operations extended even to Florida businesses which allegedly harbored deep reservations about using foreign labor. Finally, they have significance because they bring to light a

13. Nelli, *Italians in Chicago*, 64-65. Faced with a hostile public and more unsure of their relationships with American employers, labor bosses after 1900 increasingly began to deny their identification as padrone or to claim that they were against the boss system.

14. V. Palumbo to R. J. Goff, February 3, 1901; clipping from New York *L'Araldo Italiano,* dated February 2, 1902; undated newspaper clipping, all three in Florida East Coast Railway Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1901 folder, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida.

largely forgotten aspect of Florida's colorful history and serve to remind us that the hands of many different nationalities went into the building of the state. To retain the letter's original flavor, spelling, grammar, and punctuation have not been altered. The newspaper advertisement has been translated from Italian to English.

February 3, 1901

R. J. Goff, Esq.[15]
Gen'l Superintendent
Florida East Coast Railway
St. Augustine, Fla.

Dear Sir: Following my letter of the 31st ult, I beg to acknowledge your form of the 27th ult, to which I shall catagorically answer as follows:–

First: If I have asked you to give me a position it was because in your letter of June 22, 1901,[16] you offered the same to me, though you withdrew said offers in successives letters.

Second: If I have accepted to furnish you with 150 laborers the acceptance of it, not based upon the conditions specified in your favors of June 22nd and of July 3rd and according and in basis of the verbal understanding had between myself, yourself, and Mr. Ingraham ,[17] Vice-President of your road, during my visit in Florida; namely, upon the establishment of an agricultural colony composed of Italians and the sale to them of land varying in price from $5.00 to $15.00 per acre.[18]

Third: After having travelled at your expense along your entire railroad system, and after having explained to you, that I would have been able and capable of furnishing steady and

15. As superintendent, Mr. Goff was in charge of the overall building and maintenance of the railroad's lines. He would also have been in charge of the hiring of laborers.
16. The author of the letter seems to have confused his dates. Internal evidence suggests that the mailing date should be February 3, *1902,* and that all dates within the letter should be in the year 1901.
17. James E. Ingraham was third vice-president and land commissioner of the Florida East Coast Railway. Ingraham controlled the extensive land holdings of the railroad and would have been the appropriate official to deal with in any transaction involving the establishment of a colony.
18. It is not known if this effort to settle a colony of Italians succeeded. The FEC, however, maintained a continuing interest in the idea. See Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* December 17, 21, 1905.

honest men just as you desired, we came to the conclusion that I should return to New York, and begin the work of gathering men. After a long and troublesome correspondence, and after great sacrifices on my part, in a letter under date August 22nd Mr. Ingrahm informed me that he would make arrangements towards colonization, but that the company would not agree to pay me any salary: I accepted the conditions only because I could not go back on my words to those with whom I had bound myself. At last tired of waiting I sent you another letter under date of Nov. 6th 1902 and on the 11th day of the same month you wrote to me to send you 150 laborers, upon conditions as already stated in your letter of June 22, 1902; and offering me the commisfion of $1.00 for each man sent you, and I accepted: not because this is in my line of business, for I have always been against the padrone system, but simply as the commisfion aided to defray the postage and telegraphic expense, besides the people who have been helping me in this matter.

Fourth: During the month of December I have sent you 31 men, who were to your complete satisfaction, and in as much as those men were desirous that I should go and live with them, some would not like to go without my accompanying them, and considering that you were not ready to pay me a salary, I have entered a contract with them providing that they should leave with the company $2.00 per month, to be applied to the doctor's fee in case of sickness and the balance toward the maintenance of a social bureau, which was to look after their interest, in the buying and selling of lands: moreover I have stipulated in the agreement the conditions of the work, which I have guaranteed to them. A copy of this contract together with a note of $14.00 each attached to his contract and sent to you by special delivery the receipt of which you have only acknowledged.

Fifth: As a man by name of Pietro di Gerolamo had missed his way to Florida, the 25 men I had got together and who were ready to go South on the same conditions met at the office of Mr. Eayer,[19] 19 State Street, and they refused to go, as they claimed

19. This name is possibly a misspelling of Theodore G. Eger, traffic manager of the Clyde Steamship Company, the only concern to offer direct steamship service between New York and Jacksonville, Florida. The main offices of the Clyde Line were located at 19 State Street in New York City.

they would have to sleep in tents, and the air and climate were bad and so forth.

It was then that I told Mr. Eayer that I would start advertising in the Italian Papers for men, stating the conditions copy of which I sent you at once. In the advertisement, I stated that he who desired to go to Florida was to purchase an acre of land, costing from $25 to $30 dollars per acres, paying five dollars in cash before leaving, and the balance in monthly rates of $2.00 each, to be paid into the hands of the company until fully paid.

In answer to this ad, I received over 300 letters: and 23 men were ready to leave on January 24th 1902. I notified the Clyde Line[20] to reserve me 23 places, and that I might have had a larger number, as they would have forfeited the $5.00 deposited, in order to guarantee you the full advanced and to be sure to get good men. On the 23rd I was surprised to received from you a letter suspending the departure of the men. I was compelled to reimburs them not only the deposits but also, the fares coming and going to their residences outside of New York; and to avoid other trouble I advertised that the departure for Florida was suspended until new order.

Sixth: Salvatore Farano and son lately arrived from Italy with their family had paid $7.50 on account of an acre and one half of land, and if he came alone it was because he could not wait until the 24th not having means to sustain themselves, and that is the reason why I took the responsibility of sending him alone: I know that it is not convenient to send one man at a time, and that it would have been better to send 30 or 50 but had you fixed a limit I would have known how to govern myself, and I would have known whether to accept or not. And now that after request from the laborers I have bought macaroni, cheese, wine, oil etc. with a great loss, am I to be the sufferer of this loss?

Ten days are not sufficient for me, in order to furnish you all the 120 men requested, as I shall have to write, to those who did not go. If you want me to, I may send you about 25 men or more

20. The Clyde Steamship Company had a vested interest in stimulating travel to Florida, and the company's passenger department published several attractive pamphlets describing the wonders of the state. See *Florida and the Sunny South* (New York, n.d.) and *Facts About Florida* (New York, n.d.), copies in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

at a time. I shall renounce to the Dollar Commisfion: but you must fulfill the contracts which I shall enter with the men, that is to found an agricultural colony and I shall endeavour to make a living by myself, in Florida looking over the interests of these people as indeed I am responsible to them in case of any eventuality.

Every day of the week I am receiving letters from the laborers asking me to go South: they say that they have paid the checks: I cannot understand all this. They on the first of February will have to leave with the company $2.00 each to pay for the Doctor, and for the maintenance of a bureau of protection in case I should come south, if not only for the doctor.

I ask you Mr. Goff, to see that this matter should be settled loyally because I have made and entered a contract with the Araldo Italiano[21] for *4000* lines of advertising at a cost of *$400,* besides other expense, that I have made and sustained. At present time I am sick with bronchite & reumatism at right foot; I ordered to publish again and called 120 men more for you; I will wire to you as soon these people are ready to go– I enclose to you a article published in answer at Italian Counsell, who advised the Italian of U.S. to not go in Florida, because exist malaria and the law not good; Call Mr. O. Brien[22] and try to translate in English what I said; if you stop to accept laborers you will ruin me in many ways, and I want that my countryman came in your place because the clime is all right.

With my regards I am

Yours respectfully
V. Palumbo

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21. *L'Araldo Italiano* (the Italian Herald) was the second largest Italian language daily printed in New York City. For additional information see George E. Pozzetta, "The Italian Immigrant Press of New York City: The Early Years, 1880-1915," *Journal of Ethnic Studies,* I (Fall 1973), 34.
22. Presumably this referred to Robert E. O'Brien, an engineer in the employ of the railroad, who evidently could read Italian.

The *Italian Herald*
February 2, 1902

TO FLORIDA

(Received and Published)

Director of the Italian Herald

New York

Please allow me to present and reply to some of the Consul's publications found in another daily newspaper.

The workers that I sent to Florida arrived in a healthy place, where there is absolutely no malaria.

From June 22, 1901, I have been in negotiations with the Florida East Coast Railway to establish an agricultural colony in the vicinity of St. Augustine and Miami.

The land is adaptable to the cultivation of vines and fruits, and the climate is identical to Sicily. I have made a run through the railroad's lines– 476 miles from Jacksonville to Miami, Fla and I found a terrestial Paradise. When those workers sent by me actually arrive there, they will write to their parents and friends and tell them to go there immediately. The undersigned is the only one to have conducted a seven year long campaign to abolish the slavery of Italians in the United States, and in fact it was abolished, and thus I have always continued to emancipate those poor wretches who remain in New York all their lives without hope of making any progress. Now the bell has rung! I am requesting that 120 men be ready to leave on the 5th day of this month under the conditions publicized by me in the *Herald* some time ago. Those who come will arrive safe and will find no malaria or beasts, but instead will find honest and educated men. In order that Italians may buy land to cultivate, they will be employed as a mobile squadron[23] by the railroad company and paid $1.25 a day: board is free and one pays neither shanty[24] nor *bossatura.*

23. Palumbo was referring to the common practice of employing immigrants in transient work gangs which could be shifted from job to job without a permanent base.
24. Such words as *shanty* and *bossatura* were Italian-American slang expressions that began increasingly to appear in Italian language newspapers after the decade of the 1890s.

When the workers earn enough to be able to live on their own, they will find themselves the possessors of a plot of land that could be sold for 800 to a thousand dollars profit per acre. For example, an acre of land planted in pineapples after eighteen months gives a profit of 700 to 800 dollars.

Wine costs four or five dollars a gallon. If one plants vines after three years an acre of land will produce a profit of more than 1,000 dollars. I am always disposed to refute those who would like to keep the Italians of our colony under control, without thinking that for Italians there is an absolute need to go and colonize the fertile land of Florida, not that of Tampa, let us make this point clearly, but that around St. Augustine. For the moment I ask only and at once for 120 workers, eventually the number will be 150. I Will pay the expenses of the trip for all the workers who promise to repay in three installments. Whoever will not be ready for the 5th of this month will lose the chance to have the best of fortune. Then to Florida! To Florida all who want to become well-off. I will be personally responsible to you if you do not find everything as I have publically stated.

I dare anyone to refute that in St. Augustine and on the job site itself the workers are not affected by malaria.[26]

V. Palumbo

I am requesting that 150 workers for Florida present themselves throughout this month at the Italian Herald, Mondays at 12:00, 90 Centre ST.

V. Palumbo

25. The fact that Palumbo took such great pains to deny repeatedly that malaria existed in Florida indicates clearly the importance that prospective Italian settlers attached to this information.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the fields of Florida history, archeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1974. Articles, notes and documents which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume. The present listing also includes articles appearing in journals not published on schedule and which were not included in the list published in the July 1974 issue of the *Quarterly*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1974. x, 412 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Students of Reconstruction who wished to study the process in Florida have hitherto had to rely mainly on three books: William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* published in 1913 and reissued in a handsome edition in 1964 by the University of Florida Press; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* the account of a black participant published in 1888 and also reissued by the UF Press in 1964; and Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877,* which appeared in 1965 and was republished in 1973 by Trend House. Although each work contained valuable information, only the one by Davis attempted to survey and bring together the whole tangled story of what happened in the state during the Reconstruction years.

Davis was a student under William A. Dunning when the latter was conducting his famous graduate seminar in Reconstruction at Columbia University, and Davis's book is in the so-called "Dunning school" of Reconstruction historiography. The Dunning state studies had certain common characteristics. Based on wide research in the sources then available, they told a full story of political events but slighted economic and social developments. A more serious defect, to modern scholars, is that the studies reflected the unconscious prejudices of the authors regarding race. The Dunning writers believed that blacks were inferior to whites and hence were unfit to engage in the democratic process, and their attitudes affected everything that they wrote about black and Republican influence in government. Davis was fairer and more compassionate than others in his school, but his bias against Negroes was evident on many a page.

Now Professor Jerrell H. Shofner has given us a new general study, and inevitably it will be compared to Davis's book. Shofner himself recognizes the challenge in his preface. Acknowledging the

breadth of Davis's research, he points out that since the latter wrote a mass of new material has become available, especially in the Library of Congress and the National Archives. But he emphasizes that his chief difference with Davis is in the area of interpretation. Shofner, writing from a contemporary perspective, rejects the idea that blacks were inferior and Republicans were evil and that therefore Reconstruction in Florida was a shameful or stagnant episode. Thus, giving more attention than Davis did to economic matters, he argues that the state was beginning to recover from the postwar depression during the Reconstruction years and before the recovery of white-Democratic control in 1876-1877.

Although he devotes more space than Davis did to economic and social affairs, Shofner provides an adequate account of political happenings, beginning with the administrations of William Marvin, the provisional governor, and of David Walker, elected governor under the Johnson plan, and going through the terms of Republican governors Harrison Reed, Ossian B. Hart, and Marcellus Stearns. Two features of his treatment deserve special notice and commendation. One, he exposes as no one has before the bitter factionalism between moderate and radical Republicans that hindered the party in developing a comprehensive program and sapped its will to survive. Two, he reveals an amazing absence of militance in Florida blacks. As compared to the situation in some other states, as example, Louisiana, blacks exercised only a slight influence in politics and received only pitiful rewards; here the "bottom rail" was definitely not on top.

Written with balanced and compassionate judgment, this book must become the standard study of Reconstruction in Florida.

Louisiana State University T. HARRY WILLIAMS

Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842. By George E. Buker. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975. 152 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, notes, epilogue, bibliography, index. $6.50.)

Like John Gates's *Schoolbooks and Krags,* the worst thing about *Swamp Sailors* is the title, both perhaps examples of new

Ph.D.'s in history overreacting to their drab dissertation titles as they convert them into books. In any case, Professor Buker, like Gates in his story of the United States army during the Philippine Insurrection, has provided an invaluable study of one aspect of American pacification operations and limited warfare during the nineteenth century. Regretably, he completed the study in 1969, and has only repolished it without updating his bibliography at all, especially in general American military and naval history. Furthermore, the subtitle term "riverine" is Vietnam War-era Pentagonese, yet it succeeds in helping to define the task of the United States Navy in the Second Seminole War– a good example of Hans Delbrück's *Sachkritik*, the use of current military practices to help understand those of the past.

Riverine warfare, says the author, "is a specialized form of combat, neither naval nor military, but a blend of the two, conducted in a riverine environment" (pp. 5-6). It is also based on small unit actions, so that such familiar names as Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott are not as important as those of Navy Lieutenants Levin M. Powell and John T. McLaughlin, whose search-and-destroy operations ferreted out the Seminoles over long and difficult years, the latter with a specialized "Mosquito Fleet."

Buker's research and narrative of the navy's offensive operations in the Everglades in cooperation with the army, marines, and revenue service are excellent, showing how tactical doctrines had to be developed on the spot under unprecedented conditions, notably shallow-water, small boat pincers movements to surround and entrap the Seminoles. The more passive element was the naval blockade of Florida to keep Spanish arms from reaching the Indians via nearby Cuba– a classic example of isolating the battlefield in a limited maritime war. In the end, both efforts combined to break the enemy's will to resist– the proper Clauswitizian object in war.

Swamp Sailors should be required reading for all American military and naval historians and practitioners of riverine and inshore warfare. The publisher is also to be congratulated for producing an attractive book with pleasing illustrations and charts and at a reasonable price.

University of *Maine* CLARK G. REYNOLDS

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. By Samuel I. Bellman. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974. 164 pp. Preface, chronology, notes and references, selected bibliography, index. $7.50.)

American literary fashion is capricious, as the author of this critical study of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings reminds us. The volume is a part of Twayne's United States Authors series. "There can no longer be any doubt," says Professor Bellman, "that it is high time for Mrs. Rawlings to be carefully reconsidered by American literary historians, most of whom have been almost entirely unaware of her contributions to our cultural heritage and her affinity with our more important homegrown naturalists of fact and fancy." Amen. What she left us, Professor Bellman rightly points out, is a vanished Florida. And it was Florida which was responsible for her birth as a creative artist; when she left Cross Creek she descended into the banalities of *The Sojourner,* her last and least satisfactory novel.

Critical studies also follow literary fashions. Bellman dissects the work of Mrs. Rawlings and duly finds it full of everything from existentialism to denied motherhood. He makes comparisons of her work with that of Hemingway, Henry James, Hardy, Vonnegut, Faulkner, Frost, Thoreau, and Camus. All of which pyrotechnics will leave many of Bellman's readers uneasy. How much of his book is Mrs. Rawlings? Was she so profund? How much is the inventive genius of Bellman himself? *Frontier Eden,* a Rawlings biography by Gordon Bigelow of the University of Florida English department, was a straightforward and sympathetic consideration of Mrs. Rawlings's life as well as output, and in this reviewer's opinion it is still the place to which one must go if one is to understand the author of *The Yearling.* Bellman also seems to be curiously unaware that for many writers their thwarted desires– in Mrs. Rawlings's case, he postulates, maternity– are poignant because to feel such poignancy is to live one's own work and thereby to strengthen it. Strindberg was more of a woman-hater because he was writing about men who hated women; he had to act out his dramatic nightmares. Is it not possible that Mrs. Rawlings longed for her own Jody Baxter but the reality of a son would have been an encumbrance?

Bellman discusses Mrs. Rawlings's Florida and her inspiration and the fame she earned in her lifetime. He then proceeds, often

trenchantly, to analyze *South Moon Under, Golden Apples, The Yearling, Cross Creek, When the Whippoorwill,* and *The Sojourner,* which he raises to the level of an existentialist saga. There are many references to her literary relationship with her editor at Scribner's, Maxwell Perkins. It is Bellman's contention that Mrs. Rawlings's failure was "a failure of the romantic dream," whereas Bigelow saw the works in which she fell short of true artistry, notably *Golden Apples* and *The Sojourner,* as examples of a literary flame which did not always burn brightly enough. 'There's nothing to fall back on but courage; you either have it or you don't." So spoke a Rawlings character; so, presumably, believed Mrs. Rawlings. Life was a lonely pilgrimage which required plenty of guts, especially on the part of an artist. Her own emotional world was surely as stark, often, as that of her bygone Florida Crackers.

For the most part Bellman's work is scholarly, though he raises apprehensions when he tells us on page thirteen that Marjorie Kinnan was a member of Delta Gamma sorority, on page eighteen that she belonged to Kappa Alpha Theta, and on page nineteen quotes a college friend of Marjorie as saying that she was a Kappa Kappa Gamma. The issue is not earth-shaking; it is even embarrassing, and so are such biographical lapses.

After the sorority and a hack newspaper column in the North, Marjorie came to Florida and grew up. Bellman's book is, of course, required reading for anyone wishing to know more about her world, her people, and her convictions. Of all these Bellman doubtless understands many. But the vividness of her character is painted better by Bigelow, and more than one Bellman reader will raise his brows when the professor sees Lant Jacklin's river trip in *South Moon Under* as failing to plumb the "rich mythographic implications of the (watery) open road for boys, the dangerous quest, the zone-crossing, the 'holy union of males,' and all the other symbolism detailed in the metaliterary criticism of Leslie A. Fiedler, Walker Percy, and other contemporary critics." Is it possible that Lant had no interest in the holy union of males and was simply responding to nature on a beautiful waterway?

Tallahassee,, Florida GLORIA JAHODA

Florida Place Names. By Allen Morris. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1974. 160 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography. $5.95.)

Books on place names are one of the most entertaining history types because the better ones contain fascinating, almost incredible little anecdotes explaining how towns, cities, lakes, and other landmarks acquired their names. They are books you can pick up and lay down without worrying about continuity or frame of mind. They satisfy a natural human curiosity, and this volume brings out the humor, absurdity, and irony of the naming of Florida places through four centuries of dramatic history. Two Egg, Bumpnose, Kissimmee, Scratch Ankle. The recipe makes a delightful dish, but best of all, it can leave an appetite for more local and state history and maybe even germinate some good amateur historians.

Who better than Tallahassee's Allen Morris could put together a new "authoritative" place name book of Florida? As a former newspaperman, longtime clerk of the Florida House of Representatives, and publisher of the time-honored *Florida Handbook*, Morris has been collecting notes on his subject for a quarter of a century. This book is the successful result. Relying on existing sources as a base, such as Clarence J. Simpson's *Florida Place Names of Indian Derivation* published by the State Board of Conservation in 1956, Morris offers the place name derivation of incorporated Florida towns of 1,000 population or more, plus counties, forts, lakes, and other landmarks. The book lists the places in alphabetical sections and includes a small county map of Florida. Of course, hundreds of small historical towns, crossroads, and landmarks had to be omitted (such as Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, Coffee Mill Hammock, and Santa Maria) but he had to set limitations. Morris's introduction indirectly makes a mild case for place-name scholarship as a separate historical genre.

Morris doesn't document his sources through the book, but he does give a thorough bibliography. Of course, footnote documentation would have made the piece cumbersome since so many of the sources come from oral history and folklore. The distractions would have crippled the books easy readability. This reviewer, a native Floridian, has few arguments with Morris

about his sources, and the text is well done in Morris's pleasant writing style.

Florida is not an easy state to depict artistically on a vertical dust jacket, but here is a bouquet of West Florida sand spurs to the jacket designer, Bernard Lipsky, who on his cover map continued the abominable tradition of omitting or microscoping Florida's Panhandle on state maps. The state outline can be put complete on a 5¾," x 8¾" jacket attractively. Lipsky should have put as much effort in his work as the author of the text did in his.

Pensacola, Florida PAT DODSON

Florida: A Geographical Approach. By Robert B. Marcus and Edward A. Fernald. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1975. x, 302 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, graphs, tables, further reading, appendix. $3.95.)

Historians are unlikely to be impressed with this curious effort of Marcus and Fernald. Since no previous geography of Florida exists, they have certainly filled a need, but there are symptoms of hasty scholarship suggesting that the transmutation from lecture notes to textbook took place largely without benefit of editorial supervision.

Organization of subject matter is conventional and, in general, appropriate. Unfortunately the authors begin with a tedious methodological detour on modelling that is embarrassingly simplistic and of questionable use to university students. This patronizing introduction is followed by a plunge into "Florida's Historical Background," that can only be charitably described as an adventure containing serious mistakes of fact and distortions of interpretation. Their section on the prehistory of Florida is simply a pastiche of errors.

But after these disastrous preliminaries there are less controversial chapters designed around landforms, soils, vegetation, climate, and water resources. Having established the physical parameters of the state they discuss various aspects of demography and economy in an additional seventeen short chapters, each of which concludes with a summary that must be examined with unusual care since it is likely to contain new data not presented elsewhere.

The strongest, most useful portions of the book are those dealing with agriculture, particularly the chapter entitled "Animal Industries" which contains much interesting information not readily available elsewhere. The material presented on citrus and winter vegetables is likewise commendable, benefiting from timely statistical summaries and good analyses of market trends.

Regional geographies are usually noted for their excellent illustrations but I must report the examples in this case are disappointing. Maps are often unimaginative or crudely rendered in sketch forms that would make a professional cartographer blanch. A full-page amateurish line drawing of an orange tree and some palms in the backyard of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings's house is included in the chapter on soils and vegetation for no apparent reason. Many of the photographs have been poorly reproduced by the publisher, and there is a disconcerting dependence upon subject matter dating from the 1940s. For motives about which I dare not speculate, it should be noted that all of the pages of this book are perforated for easy removal.

It is clear, then, that there is room for much improvement in future editions. Hopefully the authors will find time to eliminate numerous gaucheries of grammar and spelling that presently plague this text, With help they may correct their profound misunderstanding of subsurface geologic terminology and perhaps even discover the true position of the city of Pompano which they now seem to believe is located in Palm Beach County.

Florida Atlantic University ALAN CRAIG

A History of French Louisiana, Volume One, The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715. By Marcel Giraud. Translated by Joseph C. Lambert. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xiii, 398 pp. Publisher's preface, introduction, abbreviations, notes, maps, conclusion, sources, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

This reviewer met Marcel Giraud in Paris during his regime as Fulbright scholar, 1950-1951, just at the time that he was selected as professor in the Collège de France, the highest academic honor. He had been working for many years as the out-

standing French scholar in the history and make-up of French Canada and early French Louisiana. His work on Louisiana was slowed after he became professor in the College de France, but the results of his research on Louisiana were not lost. During the 1950s, Giraud published his *Histoire de la Louisiane Française,* covering the years to 1720, in three volumes. It is the first of these volumes that is here published in a beautifully printed edition in English translation by the Louisiana State University Press. Giraud who knows English well, aided and looked over the translation and helped in the preparation of the volume.

Giraud begins his *History of French Louisiana* with the Treaty of Ryswick and with the work of Iberville and the founding of Louisiana in furtherance of what were the French plans for colonization in the Gulf of Mexico area begun by La Salle, and long in contemplation by France. Devoting his attention in the volume under review to the latter portion of the reign of the Grand Monarch (1698-1715) Giraud delves into the workings of the minister, Louis de Pontchartrain, and the lives of the men involved in the colonization of Louisiana. He deals with the colonial policy of the French government, and gives an adequate account of the small, and not too well-supported colonies of Biloxi and Mobile. Full comments are given to the reasons, motives, and incentives for the establishment of French Louisiana, of the missionary initiative, and of the primitive environment. In Part II, he discusses in full the effects of the War of the Spanish Succession upon the international situation, upon the finances and commerce, neglect of the home government, poverty of the people and their dissensions, and upon hostilities – the Indian and military situation.

Part III is a rounded-out presentation of the application of private capital and projects, notably that of Antoine Crozat, and of the difficulty in populating Louisiana, of its economic stagnation, government reaction, and external dangers. Finally, in a last part, Giraud deals cursorily with expansion, and the work of the missionaries, the Illinois area, as well as commercial and military expansion. These are a background for his second and third volumes, which this reviewer hopes will appear in translation, so that they will be available to a wide reading public. He also hopes Giraud will carry on his work on French Louisiana.

In reading *History of French Louisiana,* one is impressed with

the detailed research work and citations of the author. One is also struck with the struggle of the colonies to survive. The author has done the unusual scholarly sleuthing of attempting to identify the writers and dates of many of the anonymous memoires and descriptions that are found in the French archives. This will be even more important in volumes II and III. Giraud gives greatest attention to Biloxi and Mobile, and less concentration to Natchitoches, Natchez, and Balize. He does, however, make a contribution in documenting Iberville's involvement in fraudulent practices, and brings out in detail, the conflicts between La Mothe and Bienville, the foreign missions and the Jesuits (later developed by O'Neill), and La Vente and Bienville.

Giraud has utilized the vast French archives, as well as the archives of the missions in Canada. He cites Public Record Office records, but he depends on, or at least uses fully, the work of Verner Crane for the conflicts with the British and their traders. Less satisfactory is his account of the Franco-Spanish frontier activities, and he has not used the Spanish archives. But who in one lifetime can do more than has Marcel Giraud on the early history of French Louisiana.

This volume is handsomely printed with excellent illustrations. Giraud includes an introduction to his bibliography, and his extremely copious multi-reference notes are a virtual guide.

San Diego State University A. P. NASATIR

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Four: Sept. 1, 1763-Aug. 31, 1765. Edited by George C. Rogers, Jr., David R. Chesnutt, Peggy J. Clark, and Walter B. Edgar. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974. xxv, 720 pp. Contents, introduction, notes, index. $25.00.)

In the years covered by the material in this volume of the Laurens papers, the merchant Henry Laurens has reached the pinnacle of his occupation. His business has expanded, making his papers more important than ever as a source for the economic history, not only of the South Carolina region, but of the entire empire. Interest in plantations indicates a shifting of Lauren's interest toward the land. He is also preoccupied by speculation

in lands in the Altamaha region. Out of this come several important letters to his friend Lieutenant Colonel James Grant who was appointed royal governor of the newly-created Province of East Florida. The letters to Governor Grant discuss the matter of English colonization in East Florida: how best to acquire lands and how to procure supplies and settlers.

Laurens, a public spirited man, has risen to political prominence. Grant suggests his nomination to the provincial council and also appointment to the Board of Trade and Plantations. Interestingly, Laurens refuses both. On the first he pleads lack of time because of business, on the second he writes that the Board has lately fallen into low repute both in England and America.

The political atmosphere about Laurens is charged. Several of his letters reflect this. Bitterness over the recent Boone affair and the conduct of the Cherokee War by his friend Grant and continuing animosity toward Christopher Gadsden for his stands in both disputes, are greatly in evidence. These are a prelude to the coming Stamp Act controversy.

The editing of this volume continues to be superb. In fact, annotation and explanations seem to have been greatly improved as has the completeness and accuracy of the Introduction.

Georgetown University RICHARD WALSH

Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution: Papers presented at the second symposium, May 10 and II, 1973. Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1973. 119 pp. Preface, introduction, biographical sketches, notes. $3.50.)

The "fundamental testaments" considered in this volume are Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* by Bernard Bailyn, the Declaration of Independence by Cecelia M. Kenyon, the Articles of Confederation by Merrill Jensen, and the Treaty of Paris of 1783 by Richard B. Morris. Bailyn, with his usual deft handling of intellectual history, analyzes the significance of *Common Sense* in bringing the emotional and ideological confusion of the times into an effective focus by ridiculing the "underlying presump-

tions," the "established perspectives," the "whole received paradigm" within which the Anglo-American controversy had until then proceeded, forcing the people to question the supposedly self-evident and "to think the unthinkable." Cecelia M. Kenyon's essay on the Declaration of Independence carefully delineates the idea that by Jefferson's use of the term "the people" in the Declaration, he did not mean an abstract or corporate body but a collectivity of individuals and groups with both common and conflicting interests and opinions. He sought to legitimize the self-interest in politics and to link it to representation and accountability in government. Kenyon notes the emphasis on individualism in the Declaration and seeks to find therein Jefferson's redefinition of a theory that would harmonize individualism with the historic concepts of justice and the common good as the purpose of government. Although this is a splendid essay and contains an informative discussion on political theories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the reader comes away with the feeling that perhaps more was attributed to Jefferson than either he intended or at least accomplished. Yet, the idea is intriguing. I read Merrill Jensen's essay on the Articles of Confederation with a great deal of pleasure. The essay is impressive in its mastery of detailed material and the skill with which this material was integrated into a delightful historical narrative. Richard B. Morris has presented a realistic and detailed account of the complex interaction of motives and situations present in Paris in 1783 and the remarkable obdurancy of the Americans in securing recognition of the sovereignty of their new nation. He considers that this Treaty was the basic charter of our national existence.

Continuity in the essays is effected by brief introductions by Julian P. Boyd and by several common themes found in the essays themselves. Although the content of these essays presents few fresh ideas, to have the tested ideas of these fine scholars contained within the covers of one small book is valuable to any student of the American Revolution.

Agnes Scott College GERALDINE M. MERONEY

Travel on Southern Antebellum Railroads, 1828-1860. By Eugene Alvarez. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1974. x, 221 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

This book is an attempt, through the use of eyewitness descriptions and contemporary opinions, to present an account of the "societal aspects of railroad travel in the South" in the three decades prior to the Civil War. For the most part it is a piece of fluff, having little substance which a reader can get his teeth into. The publisher gives no clue as to the credentials of the author, but this work has the earmarks of having originated as a graduate thesis or dissertation.

The potentialities of the subject are great, but this treatment is superficial. There are nine somewhat redundant chapters dealing with such subjects as "The Introduction of the Railroad," "The Railroad Mania Continues to Grow," "Engines of Smoke, Fire, and Cinders," "The Railroad Passenger Car," "The Hazardous Roadway," "The Perils of the Road," "The Railroad Station," "Society in the Cars," and "Traveling through the South." It is the reviewer's judgement that this is an example of over-writing. Indeed, with rigid economies of style and content this could have been an excellent article or monograph.

There is really nothing very new here for anyone who is at all conversant with the history of railroads in America, but for those innocent of such knowledge-non-historians or amateur railroad buffs– this might be an interesting two hour's reading. The most pretentious claim which is made for the book is that it "yields a rich gathering of southern lore about Jacksonian democracy." It simply does not.

For the most part, the sources used are the travel accounts of foreign or northern travellers. Though it contains a map and some illustrations, they are so inadequate as to be extraordinarily disappointing.

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. By Eugene D. Genovese. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974. xxii, 823 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendix, abbreviations, manuscript collections cited, a note on sources, notes, subject index, name index. $17.50.)

Roll, Jordan, Roll is a significant and important contribution to Afro-American history, social history, and historiography by an able scholar. Professor Eugene Genovese is no newcomer to the study of slavery. Indeed, he has fulfilled the challenge issued by those historians who maintained that a different account of the slave system would emerge if historians, not sharing the views of Ulrich B. Phillips, absorbed the concepts of the cultural anthropologist, developed a knowledge of social psychology, and wrote the history of slavery from the slave's perspective.

For organization and clarity, the author divides the text into four books, each with two parts and specific analysis and presentation of the slave experience, i.e., "On Paternalism," "Our Black Family," "De Good Massa," "Our White Folks," "Slave Religion in Hemispheric Perspective," "The Gospel in the Quarters," "Time and Work Rhythms," "Men of Skill," "The Myth of the Absent Family," "Standing Up to the Man," and other topics.

Well-known to white and black Americans is the development of black slavery in the seventeenth century and the subsequent enactment of statutory laws in the colonies. Later the state laws defined what a slave and a free black could and could not do. A slave could kill a white man in self-defense and escape conviction provided his life was in "clear and present danger." Slaves, however, understood that "unable to resist. . . except on desperate occasions they accepted what could not be avoided" (p. 91). They turned to their masters or some other white persons to shield and protect them. Slaves also understood the law afforded them little protection, but a "good massa" fed, housed, and clothed his slaves "at the prevailing standard of decency, as understood by master and slaves alike" (p. 124). Other requisites included holidays, good times, privacy in their religious life, and respect for family. Slaves grieved over sale of their children and separation of husband and wife. They also effectively interposed their own work standards. against those imposed by the master and over-

seers. Without power, the slaves set limits to what they could achieve.

Religion fired the slaves with a sense of their own worth before God and man, and this fact transformed them with a sense of their own worth (p. 283). This "spiritual emancipation provided the necessary foundation for a collectivity." Moreover, "the folk dynamics" in the historical development of the Afro-American Christianity enabled the slaves "to . . . create an appropriate form" and at the same time absorb many streams of other religions such as African, Judeo-Christian, Amerindian. The foundation for a Black Christianity was expressed in a "duality . . . something black and American that bound masters and slaves together in an unusual communion."

Hunter College ELSIE M. LEWIS

Johnson, Grant, and the Politics of Reconstruction. By Martin E. Mantell. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973. ix, 209 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $9.00.)

Johnson, Grant, and the Politics of Reconstruction is really two books in one: the first, a now relatively well-accepted account of Andrew Johnson's clash with congressional Republicans and of the steps leading to impeachment; the second, a challenging if not fully documented discussion of Ulysses S. Grant's role in the formulation and implementation of congressional Reconstruction policy.

Johnson, Mantell argues persuasively, based his opposition to congressional Reconstruction programs on the conviction that Radicalism could not carry either the North or the South. Though the Republican victories in the elections of 1866 had clearly strengthened Congress's hand, Johnson interpreted the resurgence of Democratic politicians in the South in 1867 as indicative of a trend away from Radicalism. Failing to perceive the intensity of the struggle presaged by Republican strength in the North as it confronted a revived Democracy in the South, Johnson anticipated success in his efforts to block implementation of the congressional plan of Reconstruction. His opposition to the

congressional Radicals, then, was neither capricious nor ill-considered; rather, it was based on his best assessment of popular opinion. Similarly, the steps leading to confrontation between President and Congress, and ultimately to impeachment, were neither hasty nor taken blindly.

This much, Mantell argues convincingly, on evidence by now familiar to readers of the several recent studies of the Johnson years. Had he stopped here, his would be a competent though hardly an original work.

What sets Mantell's work apart from that of other recent scholars, however, is his contention that Ulysses S. Grant played a major role in the early stages of the congressional struggle with the President. Grant, in Mantell's eyes, emerges in 1867 and 1868 a steadfast supporter of congressional Reconstruction– as well as a cautious walker of a tightrope stretched between his loyalty to his constitutional commander-in-chief and his ideological commitment to the Radical cause. Wherever possible, Mantell argues, Grant upheld the congressional position, and he encouraged field commanders in the South to do the same. Indeed, the whole structure of congressional Reconstruction rested on the loyalty of Grant and of the subordinate commanders in the field, who would actually implement what Mantell correctly describes as the first "major legislative program" in American history "to be carried out despite the opposition of the President" (p. 27). "There can be no question," he states, "about Grant's support of the Republican policy and there is every reason to believe that Johnson was well aware of this" (p. 35). In this context, Johnson's celebrated replacement of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton by Grant was a calculated risk by the President– a move which backfired badly, but which was designed to bring Grant within the President's sphere of influence and control and to temper congressional reaction against Stanton's removal. Even Johnson's apparent victory over the Radicals on the question of control over the military commanders in the South, came to naught: though the President forced Grant to renounce his own claims to authority over the southern commanders, he did so by declaring them independent of all control, a move which diminished the President's own influence and did nothing to impair that of Grant who continued privately to send instructions and suggestions to his former military colleagues.

If Mantell is right– if Grant indeed was a consistent supporter of congressional Reconstruction, and if he played a pivotal role in the events of 1867 and 1868– then Grant's nomination and election take on new meaning. To Mantell, they represent the capstone of congressional Reconstruction, the ultimate defeat of the Johnson policies, the ultimate victory for those who had opposed the President. Grant, in this view, is more than an attractive vote-getter: his ideological stance is known, and is of importance.

The importance of Mantell's argument can scarcely be overestimated. If he is correct– and if future scholars are able to provide the full documentation on Grant's role which has clearly eluded him– then much that has been written both on military Reconstruction in the South and on the Grant presidency itself will need reconsideration. Mantell has taken the sketchiest of materials, sometimes only the most veiled references to Grant's opinions, and worked them into a thesis which is at once plausible and tantalizing. If, as this reviewer believes, Grant eventually came to distrust the congressional Republicans, and to seek actively to put an end to congressional Reconstruction, then his actions at the outset, as the backbone of those seeking to implement congressional policy, are doubly significant. This is an exceptional book– not because it is definitive, but because it suggests something which is new, and which will provide the basis for further investigations over the next several years.

Duke University ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

Schools for All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865-1877. By William Preston Vaughn. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974. x, 181 pp. Preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $12.50.)

In a sense it is unfortunate that Mr. Vaughn's book should have been the first major study of black public education in the South during Reconstruction. Although there are several chapters of value, the book is a collection of essays rather than a comprehensive study of the problem. A number of the themes emphasized, while important, do not warrant the extended treat-

ment provided, including the chapters on "Desegregation of Schools in Louisiana," and "Integration in Public Higher Education." While the experiments in Louisiana and at the University of South Carolina were interesting and important, they were not typical of the South as a whole.

Vaughn's chapter, "Congress and Integration," is useful, showing the political in-fighting over mixed schools, and emphasizing the national status of the controversy. Unfortunately, in dealing with the various states, the author has emphasized educational politics without placing the school issues in the perspective of general state politics. Economic movements, other than educational finance per se has been largely ignored. The chapter on "The Peabody Fund and Integration" effectively repudiates the thesis that Barnas Sears was not a racist but allowed discrimination in order to achieve broader educational goals.

The treatment of the various states is very uneven, with Florida rating little more than an occasional mention. Vaughn describes the Florida School Law of 1869 as one which "avoided all references to race." While this is accurate, the law did provide for "separate schools for the different classes," and this was clearly understood by white Floridians as a euphamism for segregation. Jonathan C. Gibbs is described as a graduate of Princeton Seminary where, in fact, he only studied for two years.

The bibliographical essay is weak, suggesting the author's lack of familiarity with his own sources. While he praises George Bush's *History of Education in Florida* (1889), he ignores Thomas E. Cochran's superior *History of Public-School Education in Florida* (1921) except for one brief footnote. Vaughn fails to note properly the unevenness of the works produced by the Dunning school, lumping them together as writers who were "following the school of historiography . . . which viewed Reconstruction as the rape of the South," but he is only mildly critical of E. Merton Coulter's *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, which is certainly in the Dunning tradition at its worst.

The book is additionally marred by the author's failure to utilize valuable source material. He has ignored the American Missionary Association Archives which offer a wealth of material on the northern teachers in the South and the superlative

collection of documents in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has also ignored a number of important journals, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, as well as some excellent state and regional studies such as Joe M. Richardson's *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*. On the whole, the book breaks little fresh ground and while it may prove of some use to Reconstruction historians and historians of education, it is certainly not the much needed definitive study of black education in the Reconstruction South.

Salisbury (South Australia) *College of Advanced Education* F. BRUCE ROSEN

Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900. By D. Sven Nordin. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974. ix, 273 pp. Preface, notes, charts, tables, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $12.00.)

Considerable research has been devoted to the local, state, and regional activities of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, or Grange. Yet, surprisingly little attention has been given by professional historians to the national movement. Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement* is generally accepted as the authority, ignoring his reminder that it was not a history of the Patrons of Husbandry but a record of agrarian discontent in the period 1870-1880. D. Sven Nordin's *Rich Harvest* concentrates specifically on the history of the Patrons of Husbandry to 1900, and it endeavors to correct misconceptions attributed to Buck's study.

By divorcing the Patrons of Husbandry from other contemporary agrarian groups and reducing the term "granger" to officially affiliated members of the order, Nordin reveals a brotherhood less inclined to radical political activism and more consistently dedicated to the purposes of the original founders than supposed. *Rich Harvest* reveals two "Granger Movements"; the most popularly known one drawing its support from the West and South during the 1870s. As that movement collapsed, the order was revived by the gradual, less dramatic affiliation of farmers of the Northeast. By 1900, eighty-three per cent of the

membership resided in that nine-state area. Nordin relates the "Second Grange Movement" to the increasing pressure resulting from competition with western agriculture.

Evidence is drawn from both movements to support the thesis that the grangers remained primarily concerned with educational, social, and fraternal activities. Nordin follows the lead of Gabriel Kolko, George Miller, and Lee Benson, giving the Grange credit for a relatively minor role in the railroad regulatory movement.

Some criticism appears appropriate. The attack on Buck is more severe than deserved in view of his own warning not to attribute too much influence to the order. Secondly, the author convincingly demonstrates a continuing Grange interest in activities such as higher education, and presents specific cases of success. Yet the evidence sometimes seems insufficient to warrant conclusions such as "the Grange played a powerful, positive role." Finally, the Grange role in transportation and communications lacks balance. Little attention is given to Grange efforts outside the Upper Mississippi Valley region, and scant attention given to efforts related to transportation questions other than those concerning railroads. *Rich Harvest* is a needed addition to Grange historiography. It is especially important in de-emphasizing the dramatic involvements of the order, and in stressing more durable achievements.

Tallahassee Community College R. E. CULBERTSON

The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume 3, 1889-95. Edited by Louis R. Harlan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. xxx, 618 pp. Introduction, chronology, symbols and abbreviations, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

This volume of the Washington papers covers perhaps the most important years of the educator's life. Revealed in the letters, essays, and speeches is the personality of a highly capable man who struggled against great odds. First, he had undertaken an all but impossible task of establishing an independent private school for blacks in an area where people, if not hostile, were niggard in offering support or favor to the school.

Appearing in bold tracery throughout this volume are the struggles of securing from the State of Alabama a share of the land grant funds awarded under terms of the Morrill Act, or securing some degree of public support from the state itself. There was no greater point of discrimination against blacks than the denial of a share of the federal catalyst which would help improve their social and educational status through education. There was a quiet but nevertheless persistent campaign between Tuskegee and Montgomery over the question of spreading the benefits of the land grant or comparable funds to the Negro school. This correspondence and other documentary material revealed a subtlety born of long experience with white politicians.

Aside from the effort to procure additional public support, Washington and Tuskegee Institute had educational problems born of black social and economic conditions. These differed in more than mere degree from those which beset white leadership itself. Constantly there was the fight to find enough money to keep the classroom doors open. The margin was microscopically thin, so thin in fact that banks threatened on occasion to foreclose on simple notes which would have spelled disaster. These papers reveal how unfair and invalid the oft-repeated criticism of catering to northern philantropists was in light of biting need. Without this source of support there would have been no Institute.

Booker T. Washington gathered a staff about him with the most limited resources to pay his people. Many teachers received hardly more than a bare subsistence, and at times they worked for little more than a promise and a prayer. It was almost a miracle that Washington was able to secure any instructors of quality.

Aside from severely limited financial support there was the ever-abiding philosophical conflict which had to be partially reconciled. Was black education in its most elementary pioneering stage to follow the classical liberal arts-professionalization tradition, or was it to emphasize the most basic elements of the applied arts? There was much disagreement over this issue, even among illiterate blacks, and the nature of this conflict appears throughout this volume.

In an equally fundamental manner Booker T. Washington

became involved in a highly emotional controversey with a fairly large segment of his race in the South because of his caustic criticism of black preachers. Any rational man, no matter how illiterate, could well deny the facts of his charge. The sting of reaction was bitter, but at no time did Washington reveal more courage of conviction than in this controversy.

Throughout his statements of educational philosophy, and especially in his messages to the Tuskegee Negro Conferences, Washington was direct in his criticism of racial ignorance. He accused the emotional, ignorant, sensuous black minister as being a stumbling block in the way of raising black cultural, social, and economic standards. In the matter of raising black standards, Washington grew eloquent. His lucid description of the plight of the black share tenant is *a* more clearly stated parallel of southern conditions than is that of the angry populist Charles Otkins in the *Ills of the South.* As Booker T. Washington knew, the documentation for his poignant statements existed no farther away than the account books of the nearest general furnishing store.

Internally at Tuskegee there were frictions, personal animosities, inefficiencies, and plain cussedness in the operation of the various departments of the school. It required constant vigilance to keep the sloth and indifference of the tenant farm from spilling over into the way of life on the campus. Finding a competent farm manager, for instance, proved as difficult as finding a competent dean. In keeping with the main objective of the institution, this position was indeed a significant one. The farm manager was not only a key instructor, but his stewardship of the farm had to indicate a progressiveness to impress visitors and possible donors. This condition seems never to have been fully realized. Student discipline was a matter of concern. It is difficult to tell from the correspondence whether complaints were valid, or whether they were the machinations of petty staff members. Clearly developed is the fact that Washington was himself a stern disciplinarian.

One of the most important sections of this volume lays bare the anatomy of the Atlanta Exposition Speech, September 18, 1895. First, are revealed the deep emotions and stirrings of racial pride preceding the speech, then the structure of the address itself. The text published here shows the deletions,

but more than this, it reveals the shrewd appraisal of the audience by the orator. This reviewer, however, was somewhat disillusioned to discover that the illustration of racial and social relationships as indicated by the "hand and fingers" originated with that less than artistic source Rutherford B. Hayes.

Emerging from this mass of correspondence are insights into many personalities including Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, Hollis Burke Frissell, and Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry. Washington and Du Bois were indeed two men approaching opposite sides of a common mountain with different purposes in mind. With ample justification the editors dedicated this volume to Margaret James Murray, Washington's second wife. Her letters are highly literate and perceptive.

This volume reveals a highly competent man meeting a challenge each day, and steering a course between a Scylla and Charybdis of racial conflict. Sharply differing educational philosophies, stated objectives, and charges of catering to the ideas of northern reformists and philanthropists all caused moments of concern. The fact that Washington was able to establish Tuskegee Institute in the New South of the latter quarter of the nineteenth century and to keep it solvent was itself a towering achievement.

The editors have been diligent in their selections and notations; their work is of superior quality. They have not drowned their material in over-documentation, yet their search for obscure "once-at-bat" personalities is to be admired. This body of material constitutes a major source relating to the history of the New South.

Indiana University THOMAS D. CLARK
Emeritus

The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish-American War. By Gerald F. Linderman. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974. viii, 227 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. $10.00.)

Perhaps historians today are consciously or unconsciously influenced into sounding more "sociological" than they really want to be. This seems to be the case with *The Mirror of War,*

which takes off from Robert Wiebe's concepts about the disintegration of small communities' social consensus in the late nineteenth century. The author's objective is to explain the forces which created war in 1898 as "twilight expressions of a disappearing nineteenth-century social structure."

Not furthering the objective, President McKinley is once again hung on the old pitard of public opinion. He is, however, saved for the social consensus theme by stressing his role in trying to lighten the long shadows of the Civil War. The last veteran of that conflict in the White House was self-consciously trying to bind the wounds of that war. And he publicly expressed conviction that sectionalism had disappeared and the social disorientation of the 1860s had finally been resolved in 1898.

McKinley, United States Senator Redfield Proctor, and others are depicted to reveal the influence of nineteenth-century moral character rooted in small communities but holding forth on the national scene. In this respect, the biographical chapter on Proctor is probably this book's most valuable contribution. He has needed a biographer because of the tremendous impact his half-hour Senate speech made in providing "the nation's final propulsion to war against Spain." Historians may argue with the idea that this speech was more important than the sinking of the *Maine*, but the author convincingly shows how Proctor provided moral unity in offering the nation "undiluted humanitarianism" as the rallying cause for war.

Central to the thematic objective of this book is a slightly misnamed chapter entitled, "The War the Smalltown Community." It is really a study of the regular army and of amateur warriors writing to hometown press and politicians. Agreeing with Theodore Roosevelt that the regular army was just "elderly incompetents," Linderman fails to see the military establishment itself as a social entity in transition, an analysis of which might go far to support his main thesis. Instead, he stresses the personalism and glory road motivations of participants, symbolized by Teddy Roosevelt's satisfaction with himself over San Juan Hill. The stress on personalities and personal encounter in this and other chapters does not seem to satisfy the possibilities of marshalling evidence in support of the Wiebe theme. Towns like Tampa, intimately touched by the war, are completely neglected in this study of the effects of the war on communities. Florida is

just a geographical spot from which a private writes a letter home to Ohio.

The book continues with other valuable essays about America's changing attitudes about enemy and ally and about the press attempts to be a "surrogate government," but once again, not tightly supporting the author's main theme. Perhaps, the theme was thrown into the introduction and a three-page epilogue as an afterthought attempt to bind together some otherwise interesting and worthwhile essays.

Historical analysis and arguments over the 1890s and the Spanish-American War are very lively today. But echoes of the writings of such well-known exponents of different points of view as H. Wayne Morgan, Ernest R. May, Philip S. Foner, and Walter La Feber are not to be found in text or footnote. Though providing analysis relevant to the author's main theme, these other historians are dismissed by disregard. This study seems adequately based upon original sources, but inadequately reflective of preceding historiography on the subject. This first book holds forth a promise that Linderman will make a major contribution in the future to historical analysis of the late nineteenth century.

Wilmington College ERNEST F. DIBBLE

The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910. By J. Morgan Kousser. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974. xvii, 319 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, tables, appendixes, critical bibliography, partial alphabetical list of frequently quoted books, index. $15.00.)

The Shaping of Southern Politics by Morgan Kousser is an attempt in a single book "to cover in detail the movements for suffrage restriction in each of the eleven ex-Confederate states" from Reconstruction to 1908 and also to treat "the changes in Northern opinion toward suffrage and the South, the identity and objectives of the restrictionists and their opponents, and the purposes and efficacy of the particular alterations in the political rules." It is a successful book, the most careful and comprehensive survey of the subject we have.

Furthermore, it is a book which contains some shrewd observations about southern politics and in particular about the one-party system, a system which was made possible by suffrage restriction. The reader will come away with an increased sense of the importance of the poll tax as a disfranchising technique and of the effectiveness of the other piecemeal measures which preceded the dramatic constitutional amendments and new constitutions of the period from 1890 to 1908. Kousser also gets the upper hand in the old argument touched off by the suggestion of V. O. Key, Jr., that in some states "formal disfranchisement measures did not lie at the bottom of the decimation of the southern electorate. They, rather, recorded a *fait accompli* brought about, or destined to be brought about, by more fundamental political processes." Kousser demonstrates even more convincingly than his predecessors that formal disfranchising measures had real and immediate effects on voter turnout among both whites and blacks.

In a more thoroughgoing way than other historians, Kousser also argues that almost everywhere disfranchisement was sponsored chiefly by Black Belt Democrats of the patrician mold. This theme adds intensity and focus to an otherwise flat and diffuse book, but it does so at the expense of nuance and texture. Despite the incomprehensible assertion (p. 260) that "disfranchisement was a typically Progressive reform," Kousser is so intent upon proving that disfranchisement was a "class" issue that he is not entirely scrupulous in alerting readers to the limitations of his evidence (for instance, pp. 247-49).

The same might be said about the most innovative element of the book, the use of a technique of regression analysis pioneered by Leo Goodman which allows the analyst to avoid the logically dangerous "ecological fallacy." Kousser, who is an adept and creative statistician, uses the technique to make statewide estimates of the percentage of blacks and the percentage of whites who turn out to vote or who vote in a particular way, when all that is known is the result of the election or referendum and the racial characteristics of the population by county. Unfortunately, Kousser did not include an explanation of the Goodman regression technique in the book, preferring instead to refer the reader to his own article explaining the technique in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1973). This diversion is made even

more aggravating by the fact that, while the article nicely describes the technique and its variations in general, it does not tell the reader how each of the tables in the book was constructed. Because many different equations can be used to arrive at the statewide estimates, and each rests on certain assumptions about political behavior within the counties, the reader cannot evaluate the estimates set forth in the tables. How did Kousser compensate for the data distortions caused by widespread fraud before disfranchisement and low voter turnout after disfranchisement? How does the author manipulate the analysis so as to interpret the election returns in the light of intrastate sectionalism and of the fact that, for instance, whites in predominantly white counties behave differently from whites in predominantly black counties? The reader has no idea. Fortunately, the analysis of election returns by race is not crucial to the value of the book.

Though it is a work of high value, it is flawed. The heavy-handed value judgments, the ungenerous treatment of other scholars, the prevalence of straw men, and the inflated claims of revisionism all combine to prevent what is otherwise a fine piece of scholarship from rising to its true height.

Tulane University SHELDON HACKNEY

BOOK NOTES

Letters from the Frontiers (Philadelphia, 1868), by Major General George A. McCall, is volume eight in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, for the Florida Bicentennial Commission. McCall's book largely deals with his service in Florida, although there is also correspondence covering his experiences during the Mexican and Civil wars. As a member of the Fourth Florida Regiment, McCall served three tours of duty in Florida. He was in Pensacola in 1822, a year after Florida's transfer from Spanish to American control, and he remained for eight years. He returned for a few weeks in 1836, and two years later he was reassigned to Florida; this time he stayed for four years. His letters reveal a love for Florida, its people, its vegetation, and its wildlife. These descriptive documents are filled with

information about Territorial Florida. McCall's eye caught much of the same beauty that William Bartram had seen and written about almost three-quarters of a century earlier. The general is critical only of South Florida, where he found the wilderness so harsh "as to tax the human system to stay alive." Professor John K. Mahon of the University of Florida has written an introduction to this facsimile in which he provides interpretative data on the book and biographical information on General McCall. The facsimile sells for $13.50.

Crackers and Swamp Cabbage, by E. A. "Frog" Smith of Fort Myers, is a collection of Florida folklore stories. As he tells it, Frog got his special name one night during the 1930s by "bringing in enough frogs . . . to dress out a barrel of frogs' legs." He has used it ever since as a pen name. Frog has dedicated his book, subtitled *Rich Tales About Poor Crackers,* to those old-timers, "the bearded, barnacled sons of the pioneers who knew how to catch fish with the straight pole, split straight fence rails, plow a straight furrow across a cotton field, saw straight lumber from a crooked tree and run good moonshine whiskey through a straight worm." His stories and anecdotes deal with a variety of subjects– teenagers, dogs, superstitions, caterpillars, the Depression, fishing, alligators, food, and Florida crackers of all persuasions and colors. Mr. Smith has also drawn the illustrations. The booklet sells for $3.50, and it may be ordered from Box 3293, North Fort Myers, Florida 33903.

From Ticks to Politics is by Inez Magill who for many years was an employee in the offices of the clerk of Circuit Court of Hendry and Collier counties. The book is an account of her experiences and observations. She is a native of LaBelle, where her family settled in the nineteenth century. The book is available for $3.00 from the author, P. O. Box 83, LaBelle, Florida 33935.

Shipwrecks in the Vicinity of Jupiter Inlet is by Bessie Wilson DuBois, historian of that area of Florida. The DuBois home lies across the river from the Jupiter Lighthouse, and Mrs. DuBois's husband and her father-in-law took part in a number of the rescues in the area. The booklet sells for $2.50,

and it may be ordered from Mrs. DuBois, 18045 DuBois Road, Jupiter, Florida 33458.

It was estimated that at least 5,000,000 American birds were being slaughtered to provide decorations for women's hats in 1886. During two afternoons on a downtown New York street that year, Frank Chapman, banker and a leader of the American Ornithologists' Union, counted some 160 birds on hats. A man writing from Punta Rassa, Florida, in 1888, noted that the herons, pelicans, and cormorants which had once been so plentiful in the area were fast disappearing; bird skins were being traded at local stores for food and clothing. Florida levied a heavy penalty for anyone caught transporting feathers, but most egret plumes were small enough to be stuffed into a hand satchel and carried North. By 1900, it was claimed that the egret and heron had been so decimated on the Gulf Coast that, where there had been countless thousands just a few years earlier, it was now difficult to find even one to photograph. *They Saved Our Birds, The Battle Won and the War to Win,* by Helen Ossa, deals with the valiant efforts of many organizations, particularly the National Audubon Society, to save America's birds from extinction. Much of this book is particularly pertinent to Florida. It was published by Hippocrene Books, Inc., New York, and it sells for $6.95.

Accent Florida, by Hampton Dunn, is a collection of many of his *Florida Accent* magazine articles. Hotels, lighthouses, Marjorie Rawlings's house at Cross Creek, the Douglas Entrance to Coral Gables, the Yulee sugar mill, Frank Lloyd Wright's buildings at Florida Southern College in Lakeland, old churches, railroad stations, opera houses, Dade County's first public schoolhouse, grave sites, Indian mounds, and historic houses are things that Mr. Dunn writes about. There are many illustrations included. The book sells for $3.50 from the Tribune Company, Box 191, Tampa 33601.

A Pictorial History of Ybor City is a pamphlet by Charles E. Harner, with an introduction by Anthony P. Pizzo. It sells for $1.00, and may be ordered from Trend Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 2350, Tampa 33601.

A History of the Tampa Bay Hotel is published by the University of Tampa, and is available from the University's Development Office, Tampa 33606. The price is $1.50.

The Vaudreuil Papers is a calendar and index of the records of Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Royal Governor of Louisiana (1743-1753). The papers, now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, contain considerable data relating to political and economic activities in West Florida. One letterbook, Volume III, contains 276 pages of correspondence and orders pertaining to the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Alabama Indians of the area. There is material dealing with trade with the Spanish at Pensacola and St. Marc des Apalaches. Bill Barron is the editor of this directory. Published by Polyanthos, Inc., 811 Orleans Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70116, it sells for $25.00.

The People of Georgia: An Illustrated Social History, by Mills Lane, is another of the outstanding books being published by the Beehive Press of Savannah. Georgia, "the land of the dispossessed," was first settled in 1733, the most southern and poorest of Britain's colonies in North America. England intended the colony to serve as a check against the Spanish in Florida. There was always this threat, and during the winter of 1740, General James Oglethorpe with 900 British troops and 1,100 Indians marched against St. Augustine. Georgia played a vital role during the American Revolution, periodically threatened by English loyalists living in and around St. Augustine. After 1783, central and western Georgia became more settled, although most of the state remained a wilderness until the Civil War. It lacked the population, capital, and experience to wage a war successfully. But war came, and Sherman's tragic march from Atlanta to the sea brought the horror of the violence home to its citizens. All of the conflicts– agrarianism versus industrialism, white versus black, poverty versus affluence– that have left their mark on the twentieth century South have also affected Georgia. *The People of Georgia* is replete with beautiful illustrations, carefully selected to illuminate the text. The book sells for $30.00, and it may be ordered from Beehive Press, 321 Barnard Street, Savannah, Georgia 31401.

The Toll of Independence, edited by Howard H. Peckham, is a compilation of engagements and battle casualties of the American Revolution. While Florida never became a major theatre of military activity, and information is fragmentary and conflicting, activities along the Georgia-East Florida boundary and in West Florida are included in this work. The main event in the Floridas took place May 9, 1781, when British General John Campbell surrendered Fort George and its entire garrison to Bernardo de Gálvez. The capitulation of Pensacola meant the acquisition of all of West Florida by Spain and the end of the Revolution for Florida. Dr. Peckham also notes raids and skirmishes on and near the St. Marys River in 1775 and 1776, an American raid on Amelia Island, May 18, 1777, a skirmish between revolutionaries under James Screven and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown's East Florida Rangers at Cabbage Swamp, St. Marys River, June 29, 1778, and an engagement at Alligator Creek Bridge in North Florida, July 6, 1778. In West Florida, near Pensacola, a party of Indians under a British army captain attacked a Spanish boat, March 19, 1781, killing ten and capturing one. Three days later, the British fired on Spanish ships bringing reinforcements into Pensacola Bay, and on March 30, an attack by loyalists and Indians on the Spanish camp was beaten off only after several Spaniards suffered mortal wounds. There was some naval activity also off St. Augustine in August 1775, and the St. Marys in August of the following year. Published by the University of Chicago Press, the book sells for $7.50.

The Life of Andrew Jackson, by John Reid and John Henry Eaton, published originally in 1817, has become very rare in its original edition. It is the first biography of Jackson and covers his early life and his activities during the War of 1812. Reid worked as Jackson's military secretary, aide, and was his constant companion, so he knew firsthand about many of the events that he planned to include in the manuscript. His sudden death in 1816, with only the first four chapters finished, necessitated a new co-author. John Henry Eaton, a North Carolinian, took over. Eaton was one of Jackson's closest personal friends. He later became his secretary of war and governor of Territorial Florida. This facsimile edition has been edited by Frank L.

Owsley, Jr. Professor Owsley has also prepared an introduction and index. Published by the University of Alabama Press for its Southern Historical Publications series, it sells for $17.50.

The Confederate Soldier, by LeGrand J. Wilson, long out-of-print, has been edited and annotated by Professor James W. Silver of the University of South Florida, Dr. Wilson's reminiscences give an interesting insight into the day-to-day activities of the ordinary Confederate soldier. Published by Memphis State University Press, the book sells for $7.00.

The Juhl Letters to the Charleston Courier: A View of the South, 1865-1871 was edited by John Hammond Moore and is a University of Georgia Press publication. Julius J. Fleming, a native South Carolinian, traveled extensively in the years after the Civil War, and his letters comment on many contemporary southern and national events. He visited Florida in February 1868, touring Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Eleven comprehensive letters describe these communities and a river boat trip down the St. Johns to Volusia, south of Lake George. The book sells for $12.00.

The Stonewall Brigade is Frank G. Slaughter's latest novel. The Stonewall Brigade, as it was known in the Army of Northern Virginia, and its commander, General Thomas J. Jackson, became the subjects of one of America's most enduring legends. The history of the Brigade is told through the eyes of David Preston, a young medical officer. Published by Doubleday & Company, New York, it sells for $8.95.

Rachel of Old Louisiana, by Avery O. Craven, is the story of Rachel O'Connor, who for nearly a half century lived on and managed a plantation in Louisiana's West Feliciana Parish. The illustrations are also by Professor Craven. Published by Louisiana State University Press, the book sells for $6.95.

The Dukes of Durham, 1865-1929, by Robert F. Durden, is a history of Washington Duke and his sons who created one of America's greatest industrial and financial empires, mainly involving tobacco, textiles, and electric power. The Duke Endow-

ment was established in 1924, and its impact on American philanthropy is comparable to the influence of the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford Foundations. This is the first major study of the Duke family. Published by Duke University Press, Durham, the book sells for $9.75.

The American Navy, 1918-1941: A Bibliography, by Myron J. Smith, Jr., is volume five in the American Naval Bibliography series, published by the Scarecrow Press of Metuchen, New Jersey. It lists two articles dealing with the U. S. S. *Florida.* The book sells for $15.00.

American Self-Dosage Medicines: An Historical Perspective, by James Harvey Young, is an expanded version of a lecture delivered by the author in 1973 at the University of Kansas Medical Center. It focuses on the emergence from quackery of American medicine, a theme which the author also described in his earlier writings, *Toadstool Millionaires* and *The Medical Messiahs.* Published by Coronado Press, Box 3232, Lawrence, Kansas, the book sells for $5.00.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its seventy-fourth annual meeting in Miami, May 7-8, 1975. The board of directors will convene its semi-annual meeting on the evening of May 6. The Historical Association of Southern Florida and other Miami and Dade County historical and preservation groups will be hosts. The Sheraton Four Ambassadors, South Bay Shore Drive, Miami, has been selected as the convention hotel. George B. Hardie, Jr., will be in charge of local arrangements. Sister Eileen Rice, O. P., Department of History, Barry College, 11300 N. E. Second Avenue, Miami 33161, and Dr. Peter D. Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College, Daytona Beach 32015, are program chairpersons, and they invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately.

The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, Commissions, and Museums will be holding its annual workshop on May 6 in conjunction with the annual meeting. Mrs. Olive Peterson, 3405 Delaware Avenue, Fort Pierce, Florida, is chairperson of the executive committee for the Confederation.

Awards

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three literary prizes for original work done in Florida history. Each presentation includes a check for $100.00. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida history is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize for 1974-1975 went to Richard A. Martin of Jacksonville for his article, "Defeat in Victory: Yankee Experience in Early Civil War Jacksonville," which was published in the *Quarterly*, July 1974. Mr. Martin, who holds a graduate degree in history from the University of Florida, is the author of several books dealing with Jacksonville and Florida history. The judges were Pat Dodson, Pensacola; Dr. A. Fred Blakey, University of

Florida; and Dr. Julia Floyd Smith, Georgia Southern College. The award honors the late Professor Arthur W. Thompson, a member of the history faculty, University of Florida. It was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was earned by Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, chairman of the history department, Florida Technological University, and vice president of the Florida Historical Society, for his book, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877,* published by the University Presses of Florida. Professor Shofner has written many books and articles about Florida, and has twice (1967 and 1969) received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for his articles in the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* The judges were Robert L. Williams, director, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Florida Department of State; Dr. Wayne Flynt, Samford University; and Dr. Eugene Lyon, Vero Beach. The award memorializes Professor Patrick of the University of Florida, who served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

The authors of *Circle of Life: The Miccosukee Indian Way,* Nancy Henderson of New York and Jane Dewey of Miami, were selected to receive the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award. The judges announced that this was the best book published in 1974 on a Florida subject for young adult readers. Published by Julian Messner of New York, the photographs were by David Pickens of Miami. This book, designed for elementary school children, was written in cooperation with the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida. The judges were Marjory Bartlett Sanger, Winter Park; Ruby Leach Carson, Miami; and Linda Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola. The award honors Professor Charlton W. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society, in recognition of his many contributions to Florida history.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

The trustees of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., authorized a grant for $750 to the Florida Historical Society, to be used

by the *Florida Historical Quarterly* for art work and illustrative material. This is the third successive year that the Foundation has made a gift to the Society. The Foundation was established by Fillmore Wentworth who lived for many years in Clearwater. In accordance with Mr. Wentworth's wishes, the Foundation provides funds for the education of worthy young people and supports philanthropic and educational activities.

Activities and Announcements

The Halifax Historical Society, one of Florida's fastest growing local historical groups, publishes the *Halifax Historical Herald.* Publication began in July 1973, and all back copies are available at $1.25 each. They may be ordered from the Society, 224½ South Beach Street, Daytona Beach, or Hazellel Fenty, 432 South Palmetto Avenue, Daytona Beach, Florida 32014. Each number carries articles and illustrations dealing with the history of the Halifax River area. The April 1974 number has articles on "Plantations Along the Halifax" and "The Old Kings' Road."

The issuance of *South Florida Pioneers*, number four, April 1975, marks the end of the first year of publication for this journal, which is proving its value to Florida historians and genealogists. All back issues are available for $1.50 each, and may be ordered from the editor, Richard M. Livingston, P. O. Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842.

Each year the Southern Anthropological Society offers the James Mooney Award of $1,000 for the book-length manuscript that best describes and interprets the people or culture of a distinctive New World population. The subject may be prehistoric, historic, or contemporary. Any interested student of the cultures and societies of the New World is eligible to submit a manuscript in the competition. Manuscripts are to be sent to Professor Charles Hudson, chairman of the awards committee, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens 30601. The winning manuscript will be published by the University of Tennessee Press.

The E. Merton Coulter Award is given annually by the Georgia Historical Society for the best article on Georgia history appearing during a given year in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. For 1974, two essays were deemed of such excellence that the committee chose to award two prizes: Edward J. Cashin, "'The Famous Colonel Wells': Factionalism in Revolutionary Georgia," and Betty Wood, "Thomas Stephens and the Introduction of Black Slavery in Georgia."

Funds to help restore and preserve more than 100 American landmarks were awarded June 3, 1975 by Byrd & Son, Inc., East Walpole, Massachusetts, one of the nations oldest manufacturing firms. The awards were matching grants of up to $5,000. Among the organizations in forty-five states and the District of Columbia approved by the national review panel were three in Florida: The Florida Railroad Company Depot Building in Fernandina Beach, location of the original railroad station for the Florida Railroad Company, constructed in 1898; the Vizcaya Dade County Art Museum, Miami, former estate of the late James Deering, co-founder of the International Harvester Corporation; and Rafford Hall, Pensacola, a brick and frame structure, built around 1890 by the Pensacola Athletic Club as a combination gymnasium and meeting hall. Byrd & Son is joining in an effort with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to launch a nationwide appeal to business and industry to support state and local preservation organizations.

Professor George E. Pozzetta is the winner of the George C. Osborne Social Science Publication Award, University of Florida, for 1974-1975, for his article, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion, 1865-1910," which appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, October 1974.

The Southern Labor Archives of Georgia State University collects, preserves, and makes available for research the documentary heritage of organized labor, particularly the trade union movement in the South. Endorsed by the Georgia and Florida AFL-CIO, the archives receives files of various southern labor organizations. Many items which will be useful to persons working in Florida labor history are included. Its two latest catalogues

list manuscript holdings and collections processed during the period April 1974-March 1975. The Jacksonville Carpenter's Union, Southwest Florida A.F.T., Jacksonville Typographical Union, and the Florida AFL-CIO are among the donors of archival material listed.

The sixth annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, Florida, October 2-3, 1975. The theme of the conference is "The Cultural Legacy of the Gulf Coast, 1870-1940." The Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Escambia County School Board, Pensacola Junior College, University of West Florida, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation will be hosts for the meeting. Information on this conference and copies of the *Proceedings* of the five previous conferences are available from Dr. Lucius F. Ellsworth, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola 32504.

"Slave Experience in America: A Bicentennial Perspective," is the title of the conference to be held at the University of Mississippi, October 1-3, 1975. The speakers will include John W. Blassingane, David B. Davis, Carl N. Degler, Stanley Engerman, Eugene Genovese, William K. Scarborough, and Kenneth Stampp. Address inquiries to the Department of History, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677.

The Southern Historical Association, in connection with the Longwood College (Virginia) history department, announces the establishment of the Francis Butler Simkins Award for a first book by an author or authors in the field of southern history published during the biennial period designated. The award is a certificate and $200.00. The first prize will be awarded in 1977, and will be chosen from books published in 1975 and 1976. Information may be obtained from the Southern Historical Association, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

Mayhew Wilson Dodson

Pat Dodson, longtime member of the Florida Historical Society and its recording secretary, 1968-1969, died of cancer in Pensacola, June 6, 1975. Born in Pensacola, Dodson received a bachelor of arts degree from Vanderbilt University, and a master's degree in English and history from the University of Florida. The University of West Florida presented him with an honorary Doctor of Law degree in 1974.

Businessman, poet, teacher, historian, author, and civic and governmental leader, Pat Dodson leaves behind a long list of achievements. He was particularly interested in preserving the historic landmarks of Pensacola and West Florida. He served as a member of the President's Advisory Council on Historical Preservation and chaired the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. He wrote the historical development plan for the city of Pensacola and was instrumental in the creation of the Pensacola Historical Commission. He also helped write legislation that created the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. He led the successful fight for the establishment of Seville Square and North Hill Preservation areas. With his own money, he restored the nineteenth-century Moreno Cottage and Suzannah's Cottage. He organized and served as chairman of the Governor's Conference on Development of Florida's Historical Resources held in Tallahassee, March 1968, and he was a member of the White House Conference on the American Revolution Bicentennial that met in Washington, October 1969. He chaired the steering committee that planned Florida's participation in the Bicentennial, and served as chairman of the Florida Bicentennial Commission from 1970 to 1972.

Dodson's articles and book reviews have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and his poetry was published in a number of journals, including the *Suwanee Review*. His *Journey Through the Old Everglades: The Log of the "Minnehaha"* was published by Trend House. In his final days, Dodson had completed an historical novel about the Creek Indian heritage, "The Truthteller."

He was appointed to the State Board of Regents by Governor Claude Kirk and was later director of the State Department of Transportation. His latest honor was an Award of Merit by the American Association for State and Local History presented at the Florida Historical Society annual meeting in Gainesville, May 9, 1975. Dodson was cited for "a career of devotion to the cause of Florida and Pensacola history, historic preservation and restoration."

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1975		
Sept. 16-19	American Association for State and Local History	Mackinac Island, Mich.
October 1-4	Society of American Archivists	Philadelphia, Pa.
October 2-3	Sixth Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
Oct. 23-26	Oral History Association	Asheville, N. C.
Nov. 8	American Society for Ethno-History	Gainesville
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Washington, D. C.
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Atlanta, Ga.
1976		
May 6	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	Miami
May 7-8	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 74th ANNUAL MEETING	Miami

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